The Flavian Isea in Beneventum and Rome

The appropriation of Egyptian and Egyptianising Art in imperial Beneventum and Rome

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Publication date:
2015

Document version
Early version, also known as pre-print

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN

PhD thesis

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The Flavian *Isea* in Beneventum and Rome

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Submitted: 26/08/14

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Cover: Iseum Campense: Relief fragment with the profile of a male head, SAR, deposito San Macuto. *Cleopatra Roma*, 2000, 264, IV.48.

Submitted: 26.08.2014.

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Acknowledgements

It was a selection of finds reflecting life in Roman Egypt displayed in the collection of Classical and Near Eastern antiquities at the National Museum of Denmark that first arouse my interest in the cultural encounter between Egypt and Rome. The imagery of this period reflects a cosmopolitan culture embracing traditions and stylistic traits of Egyptian, Greek, Roman, as well as Jewish and Christian origin and it was this juxtaposition and blend of different period and culture styles that caught my attention. As a student of Classical archaeology, I soon realised that there was not only a 'Roman Egypt' but also an 'Egypt in Rome', and it is from this perspective that I have approached the writing of this thesis.

This project has been a long time in the making, and I have had help, advice, and encouragement from many people along the way. I would like to thank the Faculty of Humanities for granting me a PhD scholarship and the SAXO Institute for providing me with office space and other support. Special thanks are due to my supervisors, Annette Rathje and Jane Fejfer, for support, endless patience, constant encouragement and understanding. Thanks are also due to Lone Wriedt Sørensen and Kristina Winther-Jacobsen for their consideration and kindness. I also wish to thank my teaching partners, Charlotte Hollegaard Steffensen, Anna Sofie Schjødt Ahlén and Per Ole Rindel; my office neighbours, Niels Algreen Møller and Rune Iversen; and Jacob Tullberg, Liv Carøe, James G. Schryver and Amalie Skovmøller who, in different ways, helped me get this far. Thanks are also due to the staff of the Royal Library, who provided me with books and articles from all over Europe and North America; to the Accademia di Danimarca in Rome; and to Dott.ssa S. Ficociello and the Museo del Sannio in Benevento for kindly answering all my questions. I would also like to thank Laurent Bricault (Toulouse), Miguel John Versluys (Leiden), Paul G.P. Meyboom (Leiden), Valentino Gasparini (Erfurt) and Richard Veymiers (Liège) for 'adopting' me into the family of *Isiaci* and for their continued encouragement and advice along the way. Finally, I would like to thank my mother, Inger Lis, and my three sisters, Birgitte, Henriette and Ane, whose patience and good humour have helped see me through this project. Lastly, I owe special thanks to my husband, Thore, and my two sons, Julius and August, for their love and support throughout (and beyond) the writing of this thesis.

The structure

This thesis examines *how* and *why* the Flavian emperors used and appropriated 'Egypt' in their quest to obtain legitimacy and acceptance. The outline of the thesis is as follows: in Chapter 1, *Introduction*, I will present the main aims and scope of the thesis. The point of departure for understanding *how*

(and *why*) 'Egypt' manifest itself in Flavian ideology and material culture is a re-examination of the sculptural layouts of the Flavian *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome. I will outline some of the methodological problems associated with the study of these sanctuaries and I conclude the chapter by presenting the two most important issues of the thesis: that of the relationship between Egyptian and Graeco-Roman art in Roman contexts and that of the use of Egyptian art in imperial ideology. Chapter 2, *Beyond Napoleon*, is concerned with previous scholarship. Special attention is paid to the emergence of the discipline of Egyptology and how this indirectly led to an academic 'isolation' and 'separation' of the study of Egyptian and Graeco-Roman art. Chapter 3, *Adopting an approach*, discusses different approaches to Egyptian art in Roman imperial contexts. I will outline the different theoretical notions that have informed my analysis and summarise the position of the thesis in relation to current scholarship and theories. Chapter 4, *Egypt in the Roman world*, provides a brief historical overview of the relationship between Egypt and Rome during the Augustan and Flavian periods. In particular, the chapter focuses on the role of 'Egypt' in Roman politics and ideology and seeks to identify the gradually changed imperial attitudes towards Egypt and things Egyptian in the period from Augustus to Domitian. Chapter 5, *The material 'make-up'*, provides an exhaustive survey of the different materials used in the sculptural and architectural layouts of the Flavian *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome. Then follows a re-examination of the sculptural displays of the *Isea* of Beneventum (Chapter 6) and Rome (Chapter 7). By adopting a 'Graeco-Roman' approach, these chapters (5-7) aim to challenge the traditional 'Egyptian' approach to and re-constructions of the sanctuaries, arguing that 'Graeco-Roman' aspects too played a role in the material make-up as well as in the sculptural and ideological layout of the two sanctuaries. Finally, in Chapter 8, I will discuss the results of my analysis and interpretations.

1. Introduction

The case of the Pamphilj obelisk

One of the most famous and most visited monuments in Rome is Bernini's Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi (1648-1651) in the Piazza Navona. (Fig. 1) An obelisk made of red Aswan granite inscribed with hieroglyphic signs surmounts the fountain and the dedicatory inscriptions on its base record that it was Pope Innocent X Pamphilj (1644-1655) who '*removed, restored, and raised*' the obelisk in order to '*provide wholesome amenity for the strollers, drink for the thirsty, and material for the mediators*'.[1] The construction of the fountain was part of a larger reorganisation of the Piazza Navona, which also involved the monumentalisation of the Palazzo Pamphilj and the church of Sant'Agnese that became the Pamphilj family chapel.[2]

Figure 1

Through this building programme, Innocent X not only wished to proclaim the aspirations and increased prestige of the Pamphilj family; he also sought to restore papal authority in response to the disappointing results of the Peace of Westphalia (1648). These aspirations culminated in the Jubilee Year celebrations of 1650. The omnipresence of the Pamphilj – and papal right – is symbolised by the heraldic dove hovering high above the Piazza at the peak of the obelisk.[3]

While Bernini's fountain design was new and innovative, the obelisk itself was an old monument. For long, it had been lying in several pieces in what was then known as the Circus of Caracalla on the Via Appia.[4] The Pope appointed the Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) to excavate and restore the obelisk and in connection with its re-erection, Kircher published a monograph including a wholehearted but nonsensical translation of the obelisk's

[1] For the translation of the Latin inscriptions, see Iversen 1968, 87-88.
[2] Iversen 1968, 83, 89; D'Onofrio 1992, 288-301.
[3] According to Iversen 1968, 87-89 the fountain is a purely secular monument without any religious connotations. The dove of the Pamphilj has replaced the 'invincible Cross' of the Counter Reformation crowning the obelisks of Sixtus V (1585-1590). It seems clear, however, that Innocent X deliberately used the symbolic ambiguity of the dove to convey messages celebrating the Pamphilj as well as Christianity, see D'Onofrio 1992, 298-301.
[4] That the Circus was in fact the Circus of Maxentius (AD 306-312) was only establish later in 1825 when the dedicatory inscription was found; Iversen 1968, 82.

hieroglyphic inscription.[5] Indeed, 172 years would pass before Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832) was able to establish that the obelisk was in fact a Roman monument raised by the Flavian emperor Domitian.[6] This philological breakthrough marked the beginning of a series of translations and commentaries of the inscription coinciding with the rise of Egyptology as an academic discipline in the 19th and early 20th centuries.[7]

From an Egyptological point of view, however, '*the barbarous shape of the signs*'[8] and the content of the text itself were highly unorthodox and rather disappointing. In his still authoritative translation from 1917, the German Egyptologist A. Erman thus characterised the obelisk as '*inhaltsleer*' and dryly remarked that '*Man muß schon ein besonderes Interesse and der letzten Phase des Ägyptertums haben, um auch aus ihm [i.e., the obelisk] etwas zu lernen*'.[9] I will discuss the inherent ambiguity of the obelisk in more depth below, but first I wish to outline how this brief biography of Bernini's fountain raises different issues that are central to the argument of the present thesis.[10]

First, and most importantly, the composition of the fountain demonstrates how an old monument, the obelisk, is put to use in a new context and how this shift of context changes the meaning and interpretation of the obelisk. The obelisk is no longer merely a monument of antiquarian interest lying around the outskirts of Rome. As the centrepiece of Bernini's fountain, the obelisk now played a central role in the broader ideological self-representation of Innocent X and the Pamphilj family. Still today, the fountain and the layout of the Piazza represent the epitome of baroque art and architecture.

Secondly, the design of the fountain illustrates how elements of different periods and artistic styles merge into a coherent visual whole tied at the same time to the Romano-Egyptian past as well as to the Baroque present of early modern Rome. The monument not only symbolises the triumph of the '*innocent dove*', i.e., the Pamphilj and/or Christianity, over the '*harmful Egyptian monsters*' of the pagan obelisk, but also reflects a hitherto unseen philosophical interest in the obelisk

[5] Kircher 1650; see also Curran et al. 2009, 161-178. The excavation and re-erection of the obelisk took place in the period from April 1647 to August 1649; the inauguration of the finished monument took place in June 1651; see Iversen 1968, 86-88.
[6] Champollion 1822, 29; 1824, 45, 59.
[7] Ungarelli 1842; Marucchi 1898; 1917; Farina 1908; Erman 1917; later editions mainly based on Erman's translation have appeared in Malaise 1972; Grenier 1987; 2009; D'Onofrio 1992, 291-292; Lembke 1994; Darwall-Smith 1996.
[8] Iversen 1968, 80, n. 3.
[9] Erman 1917, 3. Similar comments are found in Marucchi 1917, 106; for the most recent translation of and commentary on the inscription, see Grenier 1987, 937-961; 2009, 234-238.
[10] For a biographical approach to the Piazza Navona obelisk, see Parker 2003, 193-202.

as a monument worthy of meditation.[11] The important point is that, although the fountain is composed of both 'static' Egyptian and 'dynamic' Baroque stylistic elements, we generally consider the fountain to be a coherent masterpiece of the Baroque. Only in that way, do the monument's multiple symbolic associations to contemporary ideological and cultural values emerge and make sense.

Thirdly, the biography of the fountain shows how Kircher's genuine historic and philological interest in one of its elements, the obelisk, spread to later generations of philologists and Egyptologists. This scholarly interest, however, quickly declined once Erman had established the rather 'un-Egyptian' character of the obelisk. Recent scholarship has modified this view[12] but generally, neither Egyptologists nor classical archaeologists have recognized the obelisk as an object of real interest to their respective fields of study. Significantly, while classical archaeologists tend to either ignore or regard the obelisk as an oddity, Egyptologists mainly concentrate on the translation and interpretation of the inscription. This means that ideas about the general visual and ideological purpose of the obelisk in Flavian Rome remain largely implicit and unexplored.

Finally, on a more general level, the construction of the fountain and the reorganisation of the Piazza Navona say something about the centrality of material culture in shaping both individual as well as collective identity. The building programme clearly reflects the personal ambitions of Innocent X and the Pamphilj, but the inclusion of the obelisk, including the technological challenges related to its excavation and re-erection, provides the whole setting with a broader temporal and cultural horizon. In Rome, one pope and many Roman emperors had previously used the re-erection of Egyptian obelisks to convey ideas of renewal, unity, and strength in times of political and religious change.[13] In other words, the obelisk established a temporal and spatial 'frame of reference' that links the contemporary building programme of Innocent X with a collective past.[14] Ultimately, this conscious association with past popes and Roman emperors served to legitimise the rule of Innocent X and the Pamphilj family.

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[11] For the Latin inscriptions, see Iversen 1968, 87-88.

[12] Grenier 1987; 1999; 2009.

[13] For an overview of the obelisks of Rome including their post-antique reception, Iversen's work from 1968 remains seminal, see however also D'Onofrio 1992; Curran et al. 2009; Sorek 2010. Concerning the re-discovery of the 'Roman' obelisks, it is important to note that their first re-discovery in many cases was literary, i.e., it was their mention in the works of Strabo, Pliny and Ammianus, which gave the obelisks their 'fame' among Renaissance scholars. We know that fragments of some of the obelisks lay exposed, e.g., in the Circus Maximus, but actual archaeological excavations of the obelisks only began with the accession of pope Sixtus V (1585-1590), who as part of the Counter Reformation and with the engineering skills of Domenico Fontana re-erected no less than four obelisks in Rome. These four obelisks were all well-known from their mention in: Strabo 17.1.27 [805]; Plin. *HN* 16.201-202, 36.71, 36.74; and Amm. Marc. 16.10.17, 17.4.12-23.

[14] For the '*time index*' of the world of things in which we live, see Assmann 2011, 6, 21-25.

Central to the issues raised above are the notions of 'reception' and 'appropriation'.[15] Innocent X and his fellow advisors did not simply passively receive but also actively appropriated the Romano-Egyptian obelisk. Prior to the re-erection of the obelisk huge efforts had gone into its excavation and restoration, and perhaps most importantly, by placing the obelisk above the four Rivers and by adding the heraldic dove at its apex and the Latin inscriptions at its base Bernini transformed the original appearance of the obelisk.[16] This physical change of context and appearance not only personalised the obelisk but also facilitated its successful transformation into a monument of the Baroque. It reflects, to use the words of Miller, '*a creative synthesis sensitive to the change of context*',[17] a creative synthesis that linked the Romano-Egyptian past of the obelisk with the Baroque present of early modern Rome. These issues, that is, the ways in which the change of context may affect the meaning of a given object, the juxtaposition and merging of different periods and artistic styles, the consequences of scholarly 'isolation', the 'time-index' and materiality of objects, are ones to which I shall continually return in this study.

Aims and scope

This thesis, however, concerns itself with another chapter in the life of the Pamphilj obelisk. Instead of the 'Baroque' of Bernini, it aims to explore how and why the Flavian emperors in their quest for legitimacy and acceptance received, used and appropriated the Pamphilj obelisk and other *aegyptiaca* to express a part of their political and religious ideology. The analysis takes its point of departure in the re-examination of the sculptural displays of the Flavian *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome. The thesis focuses in particular on the role of the Graeco-Roman element in the general layout of the *Isea* and thereby aims to challenge the traditional (Egyptological) approach to, as well as the exclusively 'Egyptian' appearance of, the two sanctuaries.[18] I aim to demonstrate that the adoption of a 'Graeco-Roman' point of view not only challenges the prevailing 'Egyptian' horizon of the *Isea* but also challenges our conventional understandings of their wider ideological significance for the *gens Flavia*.

[15] Assmann 1997, 9; Bounia 2004, 6; Miller 2010, 85-87; Gruen 2011, 2; 2011a, 3-4.
[16] The contemporary (1650) publication of Kircher's treatise on the obelisk also reflects this active engagement with the monument.
[17] Miller 2010, 106. Miller's '*change of context*' is here referring to Caribbean migrants in London; see also Hölscher 2004, 76-77, for the '*strong creative potential*' of the Romans in relation to the adoption of Greek figural types.
[18] I here use the term 'sanctuary/ies' to designate the entire sacred precinct and refer to the temples proper as the 'temple/s'.

Within this framework, another important objective of the thesis is to address the question of the Roman viewer. What did the *Isea* and their decoration mean to a Roman audience and in what ways did the *aegyptiaca* contribute to the continual creation of Roman identity/ies? In this context, the complexity of viewing images is closely associated with the relationship between persons and things and the ways in which things relate to our memory and our history. Thus, based on a survey of the materiality, i.e., the tactile and sensuous qualities of the sculptures on display in the *Isea*, I aim to show that while on the one hand we may understand the (religious) images of the sanctuaries as representations of 'something else', they were on the other hand - and perhaps more importantly - also 'something in themselves'. Obviously, our reconstructions of what the Roman viewer saw and experienced in the Flavian *Isea* are bound to be imperfect. As Bradley states, '*meaning was born out of a dialogue between object and viewer*' and multiple interpretations were possible.[19] This said, however, it is still possible to argue that the Roman viewer in addition to the 'content' of the displayed images (in the semiotic sense) also experienced the 'form' of the statues in a direct, unmediated way.[20] Thus, in their Roman settings, the *aegyptiaca* somehow insist on their materiality because of their polychrome, hard, and polishable materials as well as their size and distinct style. Indeed, as I shall suggest, the visual juxtaposition with the Graeco-Roman images further enhanced the aesthetic and tactile qualities of the *aegyptiaca*.

Both sanctuaries are historically closely associated with the Flavian dynasty. The Jewish historian Josephus tells us that in AD 71, Vespasian and Titus spent the night before the Judaean triumph in the temple of Isis in the Campus Martius.[21] Moreover, a few years later, Domitian rebuilt the Egyptian sanctuary after its destruction by a devastating fire in AD 80.[22] At Beneventum the hieroglyphic inscription on two identical obelisks says that a sanctuary dedicated to Isis "Lady of Beneventum" and her fellow deities was built in AD 88/89 on the occasion of Domitian's successful return from Dacia.[23] In addition to literary and epigraphic sources, important discoveries of Egyptian, egyptianising, and 'Graeco-Roman'[24] sculptures have been made at both

[19] Bradley 2009, 445; see also Marvin 2008, 244-245.
[20] In Panofsky's definition, '*Content as opposed to subject matter, may be described in the words of Peirce as* that which a work betrays but does not parade.'; see Panofsky 1955, 13; Hölscher 2004, 1-4; for a different approach, see Aavitsland 2007, 19-29; Squire 2009, 392; Olsen 2012, 30.
[21] Joseph *BJ* 7.123; see also Beard 2007, 93-96.
[22] For the fire, see Dio Cass. 66.24.1-3 and Suet. *Tit.* 8.3-4; for Domitian's rebuilding of the complex, see Eutr. 7.23.5; *Chron. min.*, 146 M; Jer. *Ab Abr.* 2105 (p. 272-273).
[23] It is uncertain which campaign the inscription hints at. Although the Dacian war seems the most obvious, it may equally have been the revolt of the governor of Germania Superior in January AD 89; see *RICIS* 505/0801-02; Müller 1969, 10-11, 82, no. 278; Colin 1993, 254-257; Jones 2002, 144-152.
[24] In this context, I use the term 'Graeco-Roman' in a general way to distinguish between stylistically different modes of expressions.

locations since the Middle Ages, and especially in the previous 200 years. Scholars generally agree that the *Isea* and their cults survived at least until the end of the fourth century AD, though, at Rome, the pillage of the sanctuary may have begun earlier.[25]

None of the *Isea* have yet been systematically excavated and archaeological reconstructions are therefore largely – and in particular in the case of the Iseum at Beneventum – based on casual finds of monumental sculpture. As noted by Beard, North, and Price, this process may lead to an unintended preferential treatment of Egyptian-styled objects at the expense of Graeco-Roman objects, giving the sanctuaries '*a much too exclusively 'Egyptian' image*'. The problem is that while scholars automatically assign Egyptian and egyptianising finds to the sanctuaries '*a casual find of a statue of (say) Hermes or Venus is never likely to be assigned to a shrine of Isis*.' The dangers of such academic deadlocks are obvious, because '*if only objects with a strongly Egyptian style are associated with Isiac shrines, then Isiac shrines will inevitably appear exclusively Egyptian.*'[26]

Taking a 'Roman point of view' it is argued that the 'scholarly isolationism' of the Egyptian objects prevents us from exploring the dialogue between the *aegyptiaca* and other – stylistically and materially different – objects with which they once stood side by side. Although, it may seem obvious that such a visual dialogue took place it has, until recently, largely been ignored or at least downplayed by scholars.[27] Hence, the distinctively 'Egyptian' character of the Iseum at Beneventum is rarely put into question,[28] and the most recent reconstruction of the sculptural programme of the Iseum Campense leaves us with the impression that '*the southern part of the sanctuary is Hellenistic in design and decoration, while the northern part is Egyptian.*'[29] However, on closer inspection it is clear that this sharp division between an 'Egyptian' North and a 'Graeco-

[25] A series of edicts issued by the emperors Gratian (AD 367-383) and Theodosius I (AD 379-395) outlawed paganism and pagan sacrifice. Generally, the changing imperial attitudes towards pagan cults in the fourth century AD meant that many temples fell into ruin from neglect while Christians deliberately destroyed others; see Salzman 2007, 118-121. At Rome the obelisk of Domitian was removed from the Iseum (?) under Maxentius (AD 306-312); for the chronology of the Iseum Campense, see Roullet 1972, 21-35; Lembke 1994, 65-73. In addition to the 'anti-pagan' policy of the late fourth century AD, the city of Beneventum was hit by a series of earthquakes probably causing damage to the Iseum as well; see Müller 1969, 5-6; Torelli 2002, 271-277; for the suggestion that Christian iconoclasts destroyed the statues of the Beneventan Iseum, see Bragantini 2007, 25-26.

[26] Quotations from Beard et al. 1998, 281-282. I will discuss this problem in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7 below.

[27] For the confrontation of Hellenic and Egyptian elements in Roman contexts, see Elsner 2006, 276-290; moreover, Davies 2011, 354-367. For our general and modern understanding of artistic and cultural traditions as something pure, see Hallett 2005, 301-304.

[28] This 'Egyptian' image of the sanctuary springs from the authoritative status of the, to date, only monographic treatment of the sanctuary published by H.W. Müller in 1969. Thus, until recently Müller's reconstruction of the Iseum has remained largely unchallenged; see, e.g., Malaise 1972, 294-305; Pirelli 1997, 2006, 2007; Hölbl 2000, 35; Bragantini 2007; Vergineo 2007. For a different approach, see now Bülow Clausen 2012.

[29] Lembke 1994, 26-33, 136; quotation from Versluys 1997, 162; see also Roullet 1972, 26-27; Ensoli 1998, 424. Versluys draws a similar distinction between the 'Greek/Hellenistic' Templum Pacis and the 'Egyptian' Iseum Campense; Versluys (forthcoming).

Roman' South is questionable because Egyptian-style elements were found in the southern part of the Iseum just as Graeco-Roman elements were present in the northern part of the precinct.[30] My re-examination and comparison of the two *Isea* therefore proposes an alternative understanding of the sculptural programmes. This interpretation is based on the observation that elements from different periods and artistic styles worked together in the sanctuaries forming a coherent visual whole. Moreover, I shall argue that in this eclectic blend of objects, the *aegyptiaca* established a temporal and spatial 'frame of reference' that linked the contemporary building programme of Domitian with different phases of a collective past.[31]

Still, it is clear that the lack of systematic excavations, to a certain extent, makes all (past and present) reconstructions of the sculptural programmes of the *Isea* speculative. Although, the relative chronological sequence of the statues suggests that the 'Egyptian' image of the sanctuaries developed at least from the Flavian era onwards, there is no way of knowing how many and which ones of the Egyptian imports that belong to the Flavian period.[32] Moreover, the general fact that artefacts – including freestanding statuary – are movable and tend to migrate from their original settings further complicates the situation. In a study addressing issues of reception, re-use and appropriation it is therefore important to stress that archaeological contexts, to a certain extent, are dynamic and changeable units.[33] For these reasons, instead of a narrow focus on 'original' contexts, whether Egyptian or Roman, it is more useful to analyse and reflect upon the broader historical, social, and cultural contexts and functions of the *aegyptiaca* in Flavian ideology. To enable this sort of 'contextualised' understanding of the *Isea* and their sculptural programmes, the thesis addresses issues related to the chronology, materiality, style, and subject matter of the sculptures displayed in the two sanctuaries.

Although previous reconstructions of the *Isea* may have given them a too 'Egyptian' image, it is clear, on the other hand, that both sanctuaries did exhibit an exceptional number of Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures and architectural remains.[34] We know from literary sources that certain principles, including the principle of *decorum* or 'appropriateness', governed the choices

[30] Lembke 1994, 26, 30, 52.
[31] Assmann 2011, 6, 21-25; moreover, Haug 2001, 115-116.
[32] Eingartner 1999, 30, 38.
[33] For different perspectives on statuary, obelisks, paintings, and other movable art – including war booty – and the difficulty of reconstructing their 'original' (Roman) settings, see Bartman 1991, 72; Curran 1994, 46-58; Edwards 2003, 44-70; Elsner 2006, 276-278; Parker 2007, 210; moreover, Bragantini 2007, 20, who, with reference to the *aegyptiaca* from Beneventum, rightly notes that they constitute a '*context without context*'.
[34] Together the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome constitute the most important contexts of Egyptian sculptures found outside Egypt; see Müller 1969, 9; Lembke 1994, 13, 56-57, 133.

of Roman patrons when choosing what types of statues to display in specific architectural settings.[35] Ideally, the content of the sculptures reflected the identity of the setting and in this sense, the presence of Egyptian and egyptianising statuary in the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome seems entirely appropriate. However, in addition to this sense of 'propriety', it is important to emphasise that imperial ideology too played an important role in the 'Egyptian' design and layout of the *Isea.* Thus, based on the premise that material culture is essential for the shaping of both individual as well as collective identity and powerful when put into the service of ideology, it is explored why the Flavians, especially Domitian, found it necessary or convenient to restore and decorate the *Isea* in 'Egyptian' style. Moreover, how did the imported Egyptian sculptures interact with the egyptianising and Graeco-Roman images in the *Isea*, and in what ways did this 'blend' of different period styles, polychrome and (painted) white marbles contribute to the ideological self-representation of the *gens Flavia*? Finally, how did the viewers respond to these displays?

I therefore suggest approaching the question of the role of 'Egypt' in Flavian ideology from both a macro and a micro perspective.[36] On the one hand, that is, from a Flavian 'macro' perspective, I shall argue that the *aegyptiaca* were just small pieces in a much larger and more complex contemporary ideological puzzle. On the other hand, that is, from a Flavian 'micro' perspective, I hope to demonstrate that the *aegyptiaca* functioned as powerful and visually compelling references to important past and present Flavian events. It is important to emphasise that these two perspectives stand in a dialectical relationship to one another.

As noted by Levick, '*[…] new emperors routinely made reference to the Founder […]*' (i.e., Augustus), and scholars generally agree that the Flavians actively engaged with the pre-Neronian Julio-Claudian past to legitimize their right to rule.[37] As we will see, Egypt was, along with the victory in Judaea, particularly important in this ideological juxtaposition. Thus, the coinage of Vespasian celebrated the centenary of the Battle of Actium (in AD 70) and that of the annexation of Egypt (in AD 71) and, like Augustus, Domitian erected an obelisk in the Campus Martius.[38] Moreover,

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[35] Cic. *Att.* 1.7; 2.2; 4.2; 5.2; 6.3; 9.3; 10.5; Cic. *Fam.* 7.23.2; Vitr. *De arch.* 7.5-6; Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 1-2. See also Bartman 1991, 74-75; Marvin 1993, 161-188, 2008, 234-236; Perry 2002, 156-157; 2005, 31-38; Bravi 2009, 176-186; and the discussion in Chapter 3, 'The Roman *aegyptiaca* and the question of *decorum*', below.

[36] Pfeiffer 2010a and Hölbl 2004 may be cited as representatives of the two extremes of opinion. At the 'macro' end of the spectrum Pfeiffer 2010a, 285 concludes: '*dass wir […] den Einfluss ägyptischer Repräsentationsmodi im Rahmen der Selbstdarstellung der drei ihrem Darstellungsstil nach sehr unterschiedlichen Kaiser, nicht allzu hoch ansetzen dürfen*'. At the 'micro' end of the spectrum Hölbl 2004, 531 argues: '*[…] dass unter Domitian römische Kaiserideologie und altpharaonische Königsideologie bis zu eine gewissen Grad zur Synthese gebracht wurden […]*'.

[37] Quotation from Levick 1999, 73; moreover Isager 1976, 64-71; Boyle 2003, 4-14; Zimmermann 2003, 317-348; Heslin 2007, 16-18; for Augustan motifs in Vespasianic coinage, see Rosso 2009; Winkler-Horaček 2010.

[38] Grant 1950, 88-98, 179-180 (Appendix III); Hannestad 1988, 121-122; other Vespasianic coins celebrated the centenary of the *res publica restituta* in AD 73/74; for the Augustan context of this event, see Zanker 1990, 89-98.

Vespasian was first proclaimed emperor on 1 July AD 69 by the legions of Egypt, and during his subsequent stay in Alexandria, a series of 'wonders' reportedly occurred.[39] While previous scholarship has emphasised the historical significance of these wonders in the context of Vespasian's rise to power, I suggest that these wonders as metaphors of legitimacy and acceptance were put into practice and 'materialised' themselves in the building and restoration programmes of both Vespasian and Domitian.

Thus, I aim to explore how the Alexandrian wonders materialised and - in that sense - proved themselves through the sculptural displays of the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome. In this context, I shall briefly consider the sculptural display of the Templum Pacis too. As 'units of memory' with the ability to refer at the same time to the present and the past, the *aegyptiaca* were for the Flavians, on a macro-level, a visually powerful way to present themselves as the legitimate and accepted successors of the Julio-Claudians and, from a micro-perspective, a way for Domitian to associate himself with his father and brother.[40]

In the argument developed here, Domitian's reasons for restoring and decorating the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome in 'Egyptian' style are thus closely associated with the role of Egypt in Vespasian's rise to power as well as with Domitian's own quest for acceptance and legitimacy. Although scholars such as Lembke have suggested a similar approach, Domitian's use of 'Egypt' is usually discussed within the context of a series of other possible, but in my view less convincing, motives for his alleged 'Egyptophilia'. Thus, while some scholars have emphasised Domitian's particular attachment to Isis and Egyptian religion including his attempt at self-deification, i.e., his role as pharaoh and the title '*Dominus et Deus*'/'Son of Re',[41] others have considered the Egyptian image of the sanctuaries as evidence of the emperor's - quasi-antiquarian - interest in Egyptian decorations.[42] I shall return to these issues later in my discussion. As we will see, Isis along with other gods and goddesses did hold important roles during the reign of the Flavians. Moreover, all things being equal, the primary raison d'être of the *Isea* and their sculptural displays was religious. However,

[39] Tac. *Hist.* 4.81-82; Suet. *Vesp.* 7; Dio Cass. 65.8.1-2; see also Philostr. *VA* 5, 27-28.
[40] For the concepts of '*milieux de mémoire*' (worlds of memory) and '*lieux de mémoire* (places of memory) and artefacts as '*units of memory*', see Nora 1996a, xvii; 1996b, 1, 6; Haug 2001, 115-116; Assmann 2011, 24.25. In Nora's terminology, the *Isea* would be '*milieux de mémoire*', i.e., settings (of the past) in which memory was a real part of everyday experience. The '*lieux de mémoire*' are, on the contrary, modern and post-modern phenomena related to national identity. For the concepts of 'legitimacy' and 'acceptance', see Flaig 2010, 274-282. Flaig convincingly argues that while the Roman Principate as such was legitimate, the emperor had to be accepted. To be 'accepted' the emperor had to establish and maintain good relations/communication with three 'relevant political sectors', i.e., the senatorial aristocracy, the *plebs urbana* of Rome, and the army.
[41] Müller 1969, 23-24; Lembke 1994, 92-94, 135; cf. Suet. *Dom.* 1.2, 13.2; see also Jones 2002, 108-109.
[42] Pfeiffer 2010, 130; 2010a, 284 (Ägyptenmode).

as I will argue below, this does not necessarily imply that Domitian or any of his two predecessors were initiates of the Isiac cult, nor that they had any particular passion for Egyptian art.[43]

With regard to the relationship between the Augustan and the Flavian appropriation of 'Egypt', it is important to remember, that although there are close analogies, there are also fundamental differences. Unlike the messy sequel of Actium in August 30 BC, the stories leaking out of Alexandria in AD 69 were favourable and reflected a changed imperial attitude towards Egypt and Egyptian religion.[44] Egypt may have been a land apart but after a century of Roman rule, the Roman image of Egypt and of the cults of Isis was generally positive.[45] Judaea now filled the role of the defeated foreign enemy and ideologically it was the end of this conflict (and not the civil war), which announced the Flavian restoration of the *pax romana*. As outlined above, it is within this dual context of 'continuity' and 'change' that this thesis seeks to understand the Flavian reception and use of 'Egypt'.

Scholars generally agree that the change of context affected the 'original', often religious, meaning of the imported *aegyptiaca*.[46] Indeed, as noted above, the Roman appropriation did pave the way for new functions and associations of the Egyptian images. Scholarly opinion is divided, however, about the extent to which this process of re-contextualisation affected the 'original' meaning of the *aegyptiaca*. What were the selection criteria? Were the *aegyptiaca* décor-statues imported mainly because of their aesthetic and exotic qualities, reflecting the vast extent of Rome's empire,[47] or were they selected because of their religious content and meaning?[48] As we shall see, the idea of the *aegyptiaca* as 'authentic', exotic and decorative, that is, without religious connotations, is closely related to the modern perception of the sanctuaries, especially the Iseum Campense, as 'museums' of Egyptian art.[49] It is clear that the Egyptian sanctuaries, like other public buildings,

[43] Takács 1995, 101-102; Pfeiffer 2010a, 283-284.
[44] Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 219-220; Zimmermann 2003, 329-330, 337; Pfeiffer 2010, 119-120.
[45] In the literary sources, however, the image of Egypt often remains stereotypical and negative; see Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984; Versluys 2002, 422-436; Clauss 2004. On the authority of texts over empirical reality and the "textual attitude" to the Orient in the context of Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, see Said 2003, 73-92.
[46] de Vos 1980, 75-81; Yoyotte 1998, 204-205; Malaise 2005, 204-206; Versluys 2002, 376-384; 2007, 5-7; 2010, 7-9, 15-20; Swetnam-Burland 2007, 113-136; Parker 2007, 209-222; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 356-361.
[47] Cf. the concept of '*decor*' in Perry 2005, 31-38. Roullet 1972, 13; Ziegler 1994, 17-18; Lembke 1994, 30-33; 90-94; 131; Versluys 1997, 163, 165; 2002, 353-355, 378; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 207, 221; Mania 2008, 119; Pfeiffer 2010a, 284.
[48] Sist 1997, 304; Quack 2005, 404; Malaise 2005, 205-206; Gasparini 2008, 86; 2009, 351. It goes without saying that the rituals performed in the Roman *Isea* had little in common with the Pharaonic cults of Isis and her fellow-deities; for the *interpretatio Romana/Graeca* and the diffusion of the Egyptian cults outside Egypt, see Bricault 1994; 2001.
[49] Lembke 1994, 50, 134; Versluys 1997, 163; for the idea of the Templum Pacis as a kind of World Museum and the Iseum Campense as its 'Egyptian' pendant; see Versluys (forthcoming). On art collections in ancient Rome, see Isager 1991, 157-168; Bounia 2004; see also Rutledge 2012 who views Rome as 'a museum city'. Rutledge's study appeared too late to be taken into consideration here.

served several purposes and that, in this sense, the *aegyptiaca* could evoke a number of associations.[50] I shall argue, however, that in the case of the (sacred) *Isea* the comparison with the (secular) museum not only takes too little account of the ideological and religious role held by the *aegyptiaca* but also further enhances their status as 'exotic' and 'apart'. It is important to emphasise, that this is not the same as arguing that the visual appearance of the *Isea* as well as the rituals performed in them did not have an 'exotic' appeal in comparison with the traditional civic cults of Rome and Beneventum.[51]

As noted above, this idea of the *aegyptiaca* as distinctly 'other' results from a number of factors, including the Egyptomania that followed Napoleon's Egyptian campaign (1798-1799), the 'purity' of modern aesthetics and museum displays, as well as the stereotypical image of Egypt handed down in the ancient literary sources beginning with the poets of the Augustan age.[52] While previous studies tend to distinguish the functions - whether ideological or religious - from the aesthetic and tactile qualities of the *aegyptiaca* of the *Isea*, it is important to realise how these phenomena in a Roman context were not necessarily mutually exclusive but often closely interrelated.[53] The distinction between the religious function and the aesthetic value of the *aegyptiaca* was, in other words, '*fluid and inconsistent*', yet, as I will suggest, it was precisely this ambiguous character, which made the *aegyptiaca* effective and tangible carriers of contemporary ideological-religious and aesthetic messages.[54]

Finally, the problem of the Romanness of Roman art, what Elsner has called '*the Hellenocentric picture of Roman art*', is addressed throughout the thesis.[55] Recent work on the nature of Roman art, particularly sculpture, has convincingly demonstrated its retrospective and pluralistic character. As citizens of an empire, Roman artists had a range of different artistic styles from different periods at their disposal. Taking this cultural (and imperial) inheritance seriously meant that the arts of the Italic, Greek, Hellenistic, and Egyptian pasts were constantly being alluded to in the arts of the

[50] The work of Versluys (2002; 2007; 2010) has been particularly important in this respect; see also Vout 2003.
[51] For the appeal of the 'foreign' cults in Rome, see Beard et al. 1998, 278-291.
[52] For the influence of Classical antiquity and figures such as Alexander and Augustus on Napoleon Bonaparte, see Huet 1999, 53-69; Said 2003, 80; for the reception of Egypt in Augustan Rome, see Söldner 2000, 383-393; for the stereotypical image of Egypt in Augustan poetry, see Verg. *Aen.* 8, 671-713; Hor. *Carm.* 1, 37; Prop. 3, 11, 29-56; 4, 6, 25-68. For the more ambiguous evidence of the Nilotic scenes, see Assmann 2000, 67-83; Versluys 2002; Tybout 2003, 505-515.
[53] For the complex distinction between sacred objects (particularly statues) and (profane) works of art in Roman contexts, see Pollitt 1978, 155-174; Stewart 2003, 224-231; Edwards 2003, 44-70; Platt 2010, 197-213. See, moreover, Hölscher 2002, 13, who deplores the modern divide between art and material culture and emphasises the *functions* of ancient art; for a similar view, see also Zanker 2010, 59-6.
[54] Quotation from Stewart 2003, 230; see also Gell 1998, 97.
[55] Elsner 2006, 276.

Roman present.[56] In spite of this pluralistic vision, studies of 'Roman art' focus almost exclusively on the pivotal influence of Greek styles on the shaping of Roman art.[57] Indeed, as Davies points out, '*[…] Egyptian art, by contrast* [to Greek art]*, never seems to have been absorbed or to have cast off its exotic aura: it sits apart, beside but not part of Roman art.*'[58] Davies focuses in particular on the reception of Egyptian obelisks in Augustan Rome and argues that they – and Egyptian art in general – '*[…] harmonized fluently with contemporaneous Roman forms, fitted easily into Roman patterns of behavior, and shaped Roman art […].*'[59] In this thesis, I follow this line of reasoning and aim to demonstrate how this approach, when applied to the *aegyptiaca* of Flavian Rome and Beneventum, may challenge our traditional understanding of the role of 'Egypt' and Egyptian imagery in Flavian ideology and self-representation.

[56] Hölscher 2004, 5-9; Elsner 2004, xvii-xviii; 2006, 270-276; Hallett 2005, 271-307; Perry 2005, 38-48; Marvin 2008, 168-217; for the specific interaction between Egyptian and Roman art, see Versluys 2002, 381, 383; 2007, 13-14; 2010, 17-20 ; (forthcoming), xx; Vout 2003, 177-202; Osborne and Vout 2010, 241-242; Davies 2011, 354-370.
[57] Hallett 2005; Perry 2005; Marvin 2008; see also Brendel 1979 [1953]; Zanker 1990 [1987]; Hölscher 2004 [1987]; Stewart 2008; Wallace-Hadrill 2008.
[58] Davies 2011, 359.
[59] Davies 2011, 367.

2. Beyond Napoleon

The vast scholarly literature dealing with various aspects of cultural interaction in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds - including the relations between Egypt and Rome - reflects the inherent interdisciplinarity of the field. Scholars of Egyptology, Classical archaeology, Art history, Ancient History, Classics, and Ancient Religion contribute with different scholarly perspectives and standpoints. Within recent years, there has been a fruitful intellectual exchange among scholars of these various academic disciplines most notably stimulated by the tri-annual international conferences of Isis studies.[60] Often, however, general differences in material, methods, and arguments still reveal different academic trainings and backgrounds.

The disciplines of Classical archaeology and Egyptology each have their pioneering scholars such as J.J. Winckelmann (1717-1768)[61] and J.F. Champollion (1790-1832).[62] Historically the two disciplines have developed along different paths and in the case of Egyptology Napoleon's Egyptian expedition (1798-1801) and the subsequent decipherment of the hieroglyphs played a crucial role for the establishment of the discipline as a modern science.[63] The Napoleonic expedition included an 'army' of 167 scholars and scientists and the subsequent publication of their work dramatically increased western knowledge of Egyptian culture and history, flora and fauna.[64] Thus, the expedition not only generated a popular interest in Egypt and everything Egyptian reflected in the literature, art, and architecture of the nineteenth century,[65] but the results of the expedition also gradually challenged a long held scholarly view of Egyptian art as something exotic lacking the aesthetic qualities of Greek and Roman art.[66]

An important factor in this process was the formation of substantial Egyptian collections in public museums across Europe. Thus, the French defeat and the subsequent terms of the Treaty of Alexandria (1801) led to the ceding of a considerable number of Egyptian antiquities to the British who subsequently installed them in the Townley Gallery at the British Museum in London

[60] The conferences are followed up by proceedings published in the *RGRW*- series at Brill; Bricault 2000a; 2004; Bricault et al. 2007; Bricault and Versluys 2010a.
[61] For an introduction to the life and work of Winckelmann, see most recently Potts 2006; moreover Borbein 1986, 289-299.
[62] Dawson and Uphill 1972, 58-60.
[63] For an introduction to the History of Egyptology, see Bard 2008, 5-15.
[64] Of immediate influence was D.V. Denon's personal publication, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte pendant les campagnes du général Bonaparte* (1802) and later the official multi-volume corpus, *Description de l'Égypte. Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française* (1809-1828).
[65] See generally Humbert et al. 1994.
[66] For the troublesome use of the concept of 'art' within Egyptology, Classical archaeology, and Ancient art history, see *LÄ* III, *Kunst*, cols. 872-881; Stewart 2008, 1-4; see also Kampen 1995, 375-378.

(1802/1808). However, within few years other Egyptian collections and departments developed, e.g., the *Regio Museo delle Antichità Egizie* in Turin (1824), the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the Louvre in Paris (1826), and at the Egyptian collection at the Neues Museum in Berlin (1828). It was primarily the purchase of major private collections and since large-scale excavations in Egypt during the 19th century, which led to the formation of these collections. The creation of professorships in Egyptology at the universities of Pisa,[67] Paris,[68] Berlin,[69] and eventually London[70] soon followed.

Although only approximately true we might generally claim that Egyptology is the study of ancient Egyptian history, language, text, religion, and material culture from ca. 3000-332 BC. In 332 BC, Alexander the Great conquered Egypt and from 305 BC, the Ptolemies, a dynasty of Macedonians, ruled the country. The 'approximate truth' in this statement consists in the fact that the civilisation of Egypt and thus Egyptological research both pre- and postdates the traditional time span of the Pharaonic period. Thus, Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt was still Pharaonic in much of its culture and although most Egyptian temples were closed during the fourth century AD, pilgrimage to the temple of Isis on the island of Philae continued well into the sixth century AD.[71]

This said, however, we might equally claim that until recently the study of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt was somewhat neglected by Egyptologists. The exploration of the material culture of this a priori Graeco-Roman period was left to Classical archaeologists, who generally adopted a Greek rather than an Egyptian perspective.[72] Within studies of Egyptian art B.V. Bothmer's exhibition catalogue *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* was pioneering[73] and more recently, at least two travelling exhibitions on Cleopatra[74] as well as two monographs on Ptolemaic royal sculpture[75] have treated different aspects of this period in Egyptian history. Indeed this renewed

[67] Ippolito Rosellini (1800-1843) was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Pisa in 1824; Dawson and Uphill 1972, 253.
[68] J.F. Champollion (1790-1832) was appointed Professor of Egyptology at the College de France in 1831; Dawson and Uphill 1972, 58.
[69] K.R. Lepsius (1810-1884) was appointed Professor of Egyptology at the Berlin University in 1846; Dawson and Uphill 1972, 174.
[70] Sir W.M.F. Petrie (1853-1942) was appointed Edwards Professor, the first chair of Egyptology in England, at the University College in London in 1892; Dawson and Uphill 1972, 228.
[71] The official closing of the temple took place between AD 535-537 during the reign of Justinian (AD 527-565); *LÄ* IV, *Philae*, col. 1026; for an introduction to the archaeology of prehistoric and Graeco-Roman Egypt, see Bard 2008, 67-88, 291-321.
[72] For an overview of previous studies, see Stanwick 2002, 3-4; Ashton 2001, 5-7; 2004, 543.
[73] Bothmer 1973. The exhibition was held at the Brooklyn Museum from 18 October 1960 to 9 January 1961 and the first edition of the catalogue was published in 1960.
[74] Bianchi 1988: *Cleopatra's Egypt: age of the Ptolemies*; *Cleopatra BM*, edited by Walker and Higgs 2001.
[75] Ashton 2001; Stanwick 2002.

interest in the art of the Ptolemies has generated fierce scholarly debates on the degree of interaction between the Greek and Egyptian stylistic traditions.[76]

Similarly, Classical archaeologists have generally entrusted the exploration of the Egyptian and egyptianising material found in Rome and Italy to scholars of Egyptology. From the very beginning, the study of the 'exiled' obelisks and their hieroglyph inscriptions was undertaken by Egyptologists such as J.-F. Champollion, L. M. Ungarelli (1779-1845), and A. Erman (1854-1937). Likewise, it was Egyptologists like E. Schiaparelli (1856–1928) and O. Marucchi (1852-1931)[77] who described and published the Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures found in Rome and Beneventum during the 19th and early 20th centuries.

That these formative years fundamentally changed the understanding of the Roman *aegyptiaca* is illustrated in a letter dated 1883 regarding the identification of an Egyptian sphinx recently discovered in the area of the Iseum Campense. In the letter addressed to the excavator of the sphinx, R. Lanciani, the senator and collector Baron G. Barracco writes:

'*Fino a pochi anni addietro era opinione molto diffusa in questa città, […] che ogni scultura egizia, trovata dentro Roma o nelle sue vicinanze, appartenesse alle imitazioni del tempo d'Adriano, né si badava che l'Egitto era una provincia dell'Impero, e però le sue opere di arte, non altrimenti che gli obelischi, venivano trasportate sul Tevere, come le statue della Grecia e dell'Asia Minore.*'[78]

The pioneering work of the early Egyptologists was followed by a new generation of scholars featuring Egyptologists like H. W. Müller (1907-1991) and E. Iversen (1909-2001) who published important monographs and articles on the cult of Isis in Beneventum and the obelisks of Rome and Beneventum in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[79] Not surprisingly, it was scholars of Egyptology like M. Malaise (1943-)[80] and A. Roullet who in 1972 published two comprehensive monographs on the Egyptian and egyptianising monuments of Italy and Imperial Rome, respectively.[81] Although scholars from other disciplines than Egyptology gradually became involved

[76] For a welcome résumé of these different positions, see Ashton 2004, 546-548.Generally Bothmer argues for a considerable Greek influence on Egyptian sculptures, whereas Bianchi controversially rejects a merging of Greek and Egyptian styles.
[77] Marucchi pursued a career in both Christian archaeology and Egyptology; from 1885 he directed the *Museo egizio vaticano* and the *Museo Lateranense*; *DBI*, vol. 71, 374-376.
[78] Barracco 1883, 111.
[79] Iversen 1968, 1973; Müller 1969. For the life and work of Müller and Iversen, see *DBE*, Bd. 7, 262; Beckh 2006, 274-276; Frandsen 2001.
[80] Malaise has an interdisciplinary background in Ancient history and Egyptology.
[81] Malaise 1972; Roullet 1972.

in the study of the Roman *aegyptiaca* from the 1990s onwards,[82] it is clear that the field traditionally, at least from a classical archaeological point of view, '*has been monopolised by Egyptologists*' as noted by Versluys.[83]

However, what are the dangers of such scholarly monopolisations? The most obvious dangers are, of course, that Classical archaeologists with a biased Greek perspective risk failing to understand the inherent ambiguous nature of the material culture of Ptolemaic-Roman Egypt and vice versa, that Egyptologists with a biased Egyptian perspective risk failing to recognise the plurality of new meanings that the *aegyptiaca* obtained in their different Roman settings.

We might argue that the emergence of Egyptology in the early 19th century not only induced a visual isolation of the Egyptian antiquities within European museum displays but also led to a contextual isolation of the Roman *aegyptiaca* in the scholarly literature. It would be incorrect to claim that the 'Egyptological' discourse on the Roman *aegyptiaca* ignores the question of their different Roman contexts. However, an indirect 'contextual isolation' of the Roman *aegyptiaca* caused by their general stylistic, material and chronological 'otherness' did and sometimes still does take place in the scholarly literature.[84]

Yet, it is important to remember that as far as we know such a 'contextual isolation' of the Egyptian and egyptianising monuments did not take place in the Roman world. On the contrary, the Romans actively incorporated and juxtaposed the Egyptian and egyptianising elements (of all ages) with Graeco-Roman-styled elements in typical Graeco-Roman settings like, for example, the gardens and *triclinia* of Pompeii and the Egyptian sanctuaries of Pompeii, Herculaneum, Rome, and Beneventum.[85] Moreover, the use of Egyptian materials like the *lapis thebaicus* and the *marmor claudianum* in prestigious public building programmes in Rome brought about a material transformation of the urban fabric.[86] Thus, there is a clear visual discrepancy between post-

[82] It was among other things the emergence of the recurrent *Congressi Internazionale Italo-Egiziano* in the late 1980s and 1990s and the large-scale exhibition on *Iside* at the Palazzo Reale in Milano in 1997, which prompted a wider scholarly interest in the study of Italo-Egyptian relations; see generally Arslan 1997.
[83] Versluys 2010, 18; see, however, also Ashton 2010, 981, who emphasises that Romano-Egyptian sculpture generally has received little attention by Egyptologists; moreover, Beard et. al. 1998, 281-282.
[84] This 'contextual isolation' of the Roman *aegyptiaca* generally characterises the scholarly literature from the middle of the 19th century onwards and coincides with the establishment of Egyptology as an independent scholarly discipline; see, e.g., Henzen 1856; Henzen and Ampère 1858; Schiaparelli 1883; 1883a; 1893; Marucchi 1883; 1904. For more recent examples, see, e.g., Grenier 1989; Lollio Barberi et al. 1995.
[85] For a survey of the contextual distribution of Nilotic scenes in the Roman world, see Versluys 2002, 248-261. For the mixing of Egyptianising and Graeco-Roman elements in public and private contexts, see the important analysis in Elsner 2006, 276-290.
[86] *Marmi colorati*, 125-127, 228-229, 235-236, 321-322; see also Schneider 1986; 2002; 2004; Belli Pasqua 1995.

Napoleonic and contemporary museum displays and the '*a pick-and-mix visual culture*', which characterised Roman society in general and these Romano-Egyptian contexts in particular.[87]

Within the more specific branch of research dedicated to Romano-Egyptian relations, the thesis explores a subject, which is complementary to ongoing research especially at the Universities of Leiden (NL) and Toulouse Le Mirail (FR). In Toulouse, professor of Ancient History, L. Bricault, has conducted a remarkable series of studies into the epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological sources documenting the wide diffusion of the Egyptian cults within the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[88] Another important contribution is the work of professor of Archaeology at Leiden, M.J. Versluys.[89] In his book on the *Aegyptiaca Romana* from 2002, he explores the meaning of Nilotic scenes and other *aegyptiaca* in different – mostly Italian – contexts. Versluys generally argues that the Egyptian and egyptianising artefacts and monuments alongside historical and literary sources have an important and sometimes different - contribution to make to the Roman discourse on Egypt.[90]

With its chronological focus on the Flavian period, the present study contributes to another current line of research, which within recent years has received renewed scholarly attention. Thus, the appearance of Boyle and Dominik's anthology on '*Flavian Rome*'[91] marks an important landmark with its reappraisal of the literature of the period focusing on '*the dynamic interplay*' between the '*literary and artistic productions*' within the overall political and cultural context of Flavian Rome. While the anthology of Boyle and Dominik represents what we might label an Anglo-American 'classicist view', it is the material imprint of the Flavian period, which moves to the foreground in the second major publication: the catalogue accompanying the exhibition *Divus Vespasianus* at the Colosseum.[92] This exhibition celebrates the bimillennium anniversary of the birth of Vespasian and reflects a primarily Italo-Germanic collaboration providing an up to date view on the art and archaeology of the Flavian period.

With regard to the more specific role of Egypt and the Egyptian cults during the Flavian period, it is important, as already noted by Bricault,[93] how this issue is totally ignored in Boyle and

[87] Elsner 2006, 270-276, quotation from p. 272.
[88] Bricault 2001, 2005, 2008.
[89] Versluys 1997, 2002, 2007, 2010.
[90] Since May 2010, Versluys has directed a VIDI research project at Leiden entitled *Cultural Innovation in a Globalising Society: Egypt in the Roman world*. For more information on this project, see: http://archaeology.leiden.edu/research/mediterranean/egypt-in-roman-world/
[91] Boyle and Dominik 2003, quotations from p. ix.
[92] *Divus Vespasianus*, edited by Coarelli 2009.
[93] Bricault 2010, 275.

Dominik's book.[94] In Coarelli's *Divus Vespasianus*, on the other hand, the impact of Egypt on Flavian/Roman culture plays an important role in several of the contributions.[95] Although there is no explicit need to explain this scholarly discrepancy, it is tempting to suggest that part of the explanation might have to do with the books' different approaches to the subject, i.e., the primarily 'literary' approach of '*Flavian Rome*' as opposed to the mostly 'material' approach of *Divus Vespasianus*. I will elaborate on the scholarly contributions of K. Lembke and H.W. Müller to the specific cases of the Iseum Campense and the Iseum of Beneventum in chapters 6 and 7 below.

[94] In Boyle's comprehensive introduction, the Egyptian matter is reduced to a footnote; Boyle 2003, 21, n. 76. That Egypt played an important role in both the establishment and legitimisation of the Flavian dynasty is, admittedly, implied throughout the contribution of Beard 2003, 543-558, esp. p. 557.

[95] See, e.g., the papers by Coarelli 2009; Grenier 2009 and Gasparini 2009. Moreover, the exhibition included an important offshoot at the Palazzo Nuovo entitled 'Il Campidoglio e l'Egitto all'epoca dei Flavi', see *Divus Vespasianus* 2009, 510-515, nos. 113-121.

3. Adopting an approach to Egyptian art in Rome

In general terms, this thesis explores the cultural encounter between Rome and Egypt during the early imperial period with the sculptural displays of the Flavian *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome as its focal points. How did 'Flavian Rome' receive, use, and appropriate 'Egypt' and things Egyptian and in what sense did the change of context change the meaning of the *aegyptiaca*? In particular, the thesis is concerned with questions of identity formation and the way in which objects assist in the construction of individual and collective identities, that is, the dialectical relationship between people and things. Moreover, in what ways do things relate to our memory and our history and in what sense do things communicate when put into the service of power and ideology? The 'things' analysed in this thesis generally fall under the rubric of 'art' and therefore, as outlined above, the thesis addresses the question of the Romanness of Roman art. In other words, what makes Roman art Roman? How does Roman art relate to the ethnicity of its makers? How is Roman art put into use? Theoretically, as we will see, these issues are interrelated in more or less complex ways. The relationship between objects, human identity, memory, and power is the subject of several recent anthropological, sociological, and archaeological studies. In the following paragraphs, I will provide a brief survey of some of the scholarship that has inspired my own approach.[96] I shall discuss the main ideas under the following subheadings: 'acculturation'; 'the cultural biography and memory of things'; 'the "Romanness" of Roman art'; 'the Roman *aegyptiaca* – who made them?'; 'the Roman *aegyptiaca* between sacred and profane'; and finally 'the Roman *aegyptiaca* and the question of *decorum*'.

Acculturation[97]

This study is about cultural contact. More specifically, it is about the cultural encounter between Egypt and Rome during the second half of the first century AD.[98] That is, at a time when Egypt had been under Roman rule for about a century. It is a case study of 'Egypt' in 'Rome' not of 'Rome' in 'Egypt' or, to put it differently, it is a case study of how '*the colonial experience can define the coloniser as well as the colonised*'.[99]

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[96] Appadurai 1986; Fentress and Wickham 1992; Assmann 2011 [1992]; Nora 1996a; 1996b; Gell 1998; Meskell 2004; Gosden 2004; Miller 2005, 2010; Aavitsland 2007; Webmoor and Witmore 2008; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; Squire 2009a; Gruen 2011; Olsen 2012.

[97] 'Acculturation' is in itself a much-contested term; see Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 9-14. However, the term recognises the process of cultural interaction as reciprocal, and this is how I shall use it here.

[98] Here the term 'Rome' is used in its broadest sense, denoting both city and empire; cf. Brendel 1979, 3-9.

[99] Horace (Epist. 2.1.156) famously summed up the phenomenon of 'reverse cultural imperialism' when he wrote, '*Greece, the captive, made her savage victor captive, and brought the arts into rustic Latium*.' On this passage and the

Recent postmodern and postcolonial scholarship has questioned the traditional notions of 'romanisation' and 'hellenisation' and much effort has gone into establishing new frameworks and concepts to describe the complex process of cultural exchange - whether colonial or not - without giving preferential treatment to one culture over another.[100] Generally, as noted by Woolf, the concepts of 'romanisation' and 'hellenisation' each describes '*a process of change, one that takes place over a long time scale and affects a large area and population*'.[101]

Whereas previous scholarship understood 'romanisation' and 'hellenisation' as two distinct processes - romanisation as the impact of Roman culture beyond Rome, and hellenisation as the influence of the cultures of the Hellenistic East, especially Greek culture, on Rome - scholars now increasingly see the two processes as '*closely interrelated aspects of the same phenomenon*'.[102] However, how are we to understand the role of Egypt and Egyptian culture in the cultural transformation or 'hellenisation' of Rome? Was there a parallel process of 'egyptianisation'? In this context, I have found Gosden's notion of a 'middle ground', in which cultures stand in a dialectical relationship to one another, useful. We shall return to Gosden's idea of a 'middle ground' in a moment, but first I will briefly review the notions of 'hellenisation' and 'Hellenism'. What are they and how do they work?

Scholars, such as G.W. Bowersock, have criticised the modern use of the term 'hellenisation', '*which seems to imply the deliberate or inevitable imposition of Greek ways over local ones*'.[103] Yet, this does not seem to be what happened. There is no word for 'hellenisation' in classical or Byzantine Greek, and the Greek usage of the verb 'hellenise' differs considerably from the modern in being active and intransitive. As noted by Wallace-Hadrill, '*"hellenising" is what the foreign Greek-speaker does for himself, not something that he does to others, or that is done to him.*'[104] In Bowersock's view, the concept of 'Hellenism' - for which there is a Greek word (*Hellēnismos*) - is more helpful. '*Hellenism […] represented language, thought, mythology, and images that constituted an extraordinary flexible medium of both cultural and religious expression.*

particular case of Roman Greece, see Alcock 1996, 1-32; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 23-25, quotation from p. 12; moreover, Gosden 2004, 1-6.

[100] See, e.g., Millett 1990; the papers in Mattingly 1997; Woolf 1998; 2003; Edwards and Woolf 2003; Gosden 2004, 104-113; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 3-37.

[101] Woolf 2003, 157.

[102] Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 17-28, quotation from p. 26; Osborne and Vout 2010, 242.

[103] Bowersock 1990, xi; see also Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 27.

[104] Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 21-22.

It was a medium not necessarily antithetical to local or indigenous traditions. On the contrary, it provided a new and more eloquent way of giving voice to them'.[105]

However, where does this view of Hellenism leaves the Egyptian element in the physical transformation of Rome? Although today most scholars would agree to the pluralistic nature of Roman art and culture, we still tend to forget that Roman culture not just depended on Greece but, as Osborne and Vout point out, '*on the Hellenistic East, and above all Egypt, and Egypt's own Greek culture, demanding that the 'Hellenistic' in 'Greek culture' accommodate the Alexandrian. […] By the time we get to the Elder Pliny, Egypt and Britain were Roman too'*.[106] In this light, the process of 'egyptianisation' becomes part of the progressive 'hellenisation' of Rome. Although, in terms of artistic expression, we may find it difficult to recognise the 'Egyptian' as 'Roman' or 'Hellenistic' for that matter, it makes sense if we accept a pluralistic vision of Roman - and Hellenistic - art. That is, a view that allows culturally distinctive traditions to remain active alongside each other under, in this case, Roman rule.[107] In a paper on 'Classicism in Roman art', J. Elsner puts it in the following way: '*[…] Roman Classicism is Egyptianizing and Italicizing as well as Hellenicizing, centrifugal in its dispersal among the provincial arts as well as centripetally focused on Greece*.[108] Elsner further argues that what these cultural borrowings and appropriations have in common '*is their assertion of empire (that is, all come from areas under Roman dominion) and at the same time their pluralistic willingness to allow the center to be colonised by the products (whether visual or religious) of its own possessions.*'[109]

This leads us back to Gosden's model of the 'middle ground'. In Gosden's typology, the middle ground is one of three different forms in which colonialism may manifest itself and which among other examples would include the Roman empire.[110] The middle ground is not necessarily a

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[105] Bowersock 1990, 7.
[106] Quotation from Osborne and Vout 2010, 242; see also Elsner 2006, 270-276; Versluys 2010, 17-20; Davies 2011, 354-360. I assume, in line with the recent underwater excavations off Alexandria's coast, that 'the Alexandrian' in this context includes the Pharaonic and Ptolemaic-Egyptian architectural monuments and colossal statues, which the Greek Ptolemies moved and (re-)erected in their new capital; cf. Yoyotte 1998, 199-244; McKenzie 2003, 45-47; Francocci 2003, 258-262; Yoyotte et al. 2006, 378; Savvopoulos 2010, 75-86.
[107] Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 26-27.
[108] Elsner 2006, 271.
[109] Elsner 2006, 272; see also Alcock 1996, 1-32; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 17-28.
[110] Other 'middle grounds' are exemplified by the peripheries of the Greek colonies and early modern contacts with indigenous peoples in North America, Africa, India and the Pacifica. The two other forms of colonialism are 'Colonialism within a shared cultural milieu' characterised by colonial relations between state and non-state polities created within a (partially) shared milieu, and 'Terra nullius' characterised by extreme violence, mass appropriation of land, and the spread of disease which enables the destruction of prior ways of life and social relations. Note that the limits between these different forms of 'colonialism' to some extent are fluid and that all three types may exist simultaneously within one colonial formation, see Gosden 2004, 24-40.

spatial or geographical phenomenon, but a process that '*brings systems of value together to create a working relationship between them.*'[111] In this view, the Roman empire formed '*a giant circulation system which connected flows of people, religious practices and material culture throughout the empire, so that influences came from everywhere and flowed to everywhere*'.[112] Material culture has a special role to play in colonial situations. Thus, according to Gosden, '*[…] colonialism is crucially a relationship with material culture, which is spatially extensive and destabilising of older values, so changing all concerned – incomers and natives*.[113] Moreover, what differentiates 'colonialism' from other aspects of 'culture contact' are issues of power, which '*is a differential power of material culture to galvanise and move people*.'[114]

How does Gosden's model apply to the case of Egypt and Rome? If we follow Gosden's argument, Egypt would be one of a series of imperial middle grounds and its incorporation into the empire would partly depend on '*the negotiations of the middle ground, which were a vital prelude to any military invasion […].*'[115] Indeed, the relations between Egypt and Rome started long before Octavian's victory at Actium and the subsequent conquest and annexation of Egypt in 30 BC. The literary sources tell of a series of diplomatic missions and gift giving between the two countries from the third century BC onwards, and the cults of Isis and Serapis were well established in Italy by the first century BC. The same period witnessed the appearance of Egyptian elements and themes in Roman mosaics and wall paintings.[116] The political and strategic bonds between Egypt and Rome gradually intensified during the first century BC culminating in Cleopatra's sojourn in Rome (46-44 BC), and, a few years later, with Cleopatra and Mark Antony's joint appearance as *Nea Isis* and *Neos Dionysos* in a triumphal parade through Alexandria (34 BC).

If we follow Gosden's line of thinking - in an admittedly highly simplified way -, it was this long period of '*middle-grounding behaviour*' carried out by both sides, which eventually enabled the Roman military conquest of Egypt. The decisive battle took place near Actium, off the western coast of Greece (31 BC), and the subsequent conquest of Alexandria and Egypt itself was met with little resistance. Octavian easily defeated Mark Antony's remaining forces, and a rising in the Thebaid, in Upper Egypt, was quickly suppressed in 29 BC. In this context, it is important to

[111] Gosden 2004, 31, 40.
[112] Gosden 2004, 105-106.
[113] Gosden 2004, 4.
[114] Gosden 2004, 4-5.
[115] Gosden 2004, 107.
[116] Alfano 2001, 276-291; Versluys 2002, 4-15; for the pre-Roman contacts between Egypt and Italy, see De Salvia 2006, 21-30; moreover Versluys 2010, 12-15.

remember the limits of the imperial middle grounds. As Gosden's points out, '*[…] the Romans were unable to enter areas where no lasting and mutually beneficial relations could be created.*'[117]

In Egypt, the kingdom of Meroe (Kush) to the south not only provided the single serious threat to the Roman position, but also marked the limit of the Roman 'middle ground'. The Romans, led by the prefect C. Cornelius Gallus, negotiated with the king of Meroe and an independent client state between the First and Second Cataracts was established.[118] This arrangement, however, soon ended and war broke out with Meroe in 25 BC. When peace was finally made in 21/20 BC the Romans withdrew from Primis (Qasr Ibrim) leaving the Merotic kingdom independent. The new border was set at Hierasykaminos (Maharraqa), ca. 110 km south of Aswan, and the region remained peaceful for the next three hundred years. From a Roman point of view, these events, as Török puts it, '*[…] revealed to Augustus the impracticality of conquest beyond what experience proved to be defensible and economically rewarding*.'[119] Alternatively, perhaps the Meroites, as did the Parthians, simply *'[…] looked down on Rome as some western upstart power'* and saw no need to create a middle ground.[120]


Figure 2

With the conquest of Egypt, the contacts between Rome and Egypt intensified. Roman rule marked the beginning of a new era in Egypt, and in Rome, the new province immediately left a distinctive and lasting imprint on the cityscape. Here it will suffice to mention the two obelisks taken from Heliopolis and re-erected in Rome by Augustus in 10 BC (Figs. 2-3) and the pyramid-shaped tomb of the praetor Gaius Cestius constructed in around 12 BC on the Via Ostiensis. Another important and highly visible effect of the annexation was the Roman importation of Egyptian coloured stones for building and sculpture.[121] Egypt had indeed become Roman, but at the same time, Rome itself partly became Egyptian. Without ignoring the existence of a politically dominant power, Gosden's model of the 'middle ground' has the advantage of giving active agency to the colonised as well as the coloniser. Moreover, the model

[117] Gosden 2004, 110.
[118] For the trilingual Gallus stele (*CIL* III Suppl. 14147[5]), see Hoffmann et al. 2009; moreover Herklotz 2012, 16-18; Török 2012, 751-753.
[119] Török 2012, 753.
[120] Gosden 2004, 110.
[121] For the 'Roman' obelisks, see Schneider 2004; for pyramid-shaped tombs in Rome, see Alfano 1993; for import of coloured marbles, see Schneider 2002; on Rome as Cosmopolis, see Edwards and Woolf 2003.

recognises that in colonial situations '*different cultures do not simply blend to form a single new entity […], but that the elements can survive in plurality alongside each other, perhaps as 'discrepant identities', or even simply as parallel and coexistent ones.*'[122] Gosden's work provides a general framework for understanding the processes of culture contact and change including the case of Egypt and Rome. However, how and in what ways did 'Egypt' make sense in Rome? How did the Romans receive and appropriate 'Egypt' and things Egyptian?

The cultural biography and memory of things

To explore these questions, we need to focus anew on the role of material culture in situations of culture contact and colonialism. Cultural anthropologists, such as Thomas, have demonstrated how objects when moved from one cultural context to another often take on new meanings and functions.[123] We may illustrate this process by referring once more to the obelisks of Augustus. The obelisks were in Egypt a highly prestigious and singularised class of monuments reserved for royal use, and when re-erected in Rome, Augustus successfully upheld these 'royal' connotations. Thus, the 'Egyptian past' of the obelisks was important for their 'Roman present'; indeed, as various anthropological studies have demonstrated, '*the fame of objects and the renown of people are mutually creating […].*'[124] The fact that the obelisks no longer 'belonged' to the (Ptolemaic) pharaoh of Egypt, but instead to the emperor of Rome was emphasised in the two identical Latin inscriptions Augustus added to the bases of the obelisks.[125] By dedicating the obelisks to Sol, Augustus literally translated the hieroglyphic dedication to Amun-Re into the language of the coloniser.[126] Besides the Latin inscription, the Romans added bronze astragals or 'feet' between the shaft and the base of the obelisks, and bronze globes

Figure 3

[122] Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 13.
[123] Thomas 1991; 1994; see also Appadurai 1986, 3-63; Versluys 2002, 376-384; Gosden 2004, 3-4, 153.
[124] Gosden and Marshall 1999, 170. The classic anthropological example of value creation between people and things is the Kula ring of the Trobriand Island described by Malinowski in his book *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922). Essential in this connection is also Mauss' essay on 'the gift' (1924/1954); cf. Miller 2010, 65-68; see also Appadurai 1986, 18-22; Kopytoff 1986, 73-77; for the relationship between the quality of the collector and the quality or fame of the objects in his collection, see Bounia 2004, 6-7.
[125] *CIL* VI[1], 701-702; Parker 2007, 212-213; Davies 2011, 364-367.
[126] In Graeco-Roman culture Sol (Indiges) was often equated with Apollo, Augustus' patron god and the divine guarantor of the victory in the battle of Actium; Zanker 1990, 44-53; Rehak 2006, 93-94.

crowned the *pyramidia*.[127] Moreover, in Rome, the obelisks were usually re-erected as individual monuments and not, as in Egypt, in pairs.[128] The change of context, thus, not only affected the symbolic significance of the obelisks, but also their visual appearance. Indeed, the obelisks took on a new Roman identity.

The example of the Augustan obelisks illustrates one of Thomas' central ideas '*that objects are not what they were made to be but what they have become*.'[129] He calls this process 'creative or interested re-contextualisation'.[130] To use another terminology one could also argue that the Roman appropriation of the obelisks represents a 'new chapter' in their cultural or social biography. The biographical approach to objects was first introduced within the social sciences and is particularly associated with the work of Appadurai and Kopytoff in *The Social Life of Things* (1986).[131] The central idea in the theory of object biographies is that, '*[…] as people and objects gather time, movement and change, they are constantly transformed […]*.'[132] With time, not only the physical appearance and function of the objects may change but also their symbolic significance. Another central idea is that *'[…] these transformations of person and object are tied up with each other*.' Thus, 'subjects' and 'objects' are not stable entities but mutually fashioning and dependent.[133] The biographical approach seeks to understand this process by exploring the way things – and persons – '*[…] become invested with meaning through the social interactions they are caught up in.*'[134]

In a biographical sense, then, the Flavian appropriation of 'Egypt' is not only closely linked to Egypt's particular role in Vespasian's rise to power, but also to the previous Augustan (and Ptolemaic) appropriations of Pharaonic Egypt. In this way, Domitian's obelisk in the Piazza Navona with its contemporary 'hieroglyphic' celebration of the Flavian dynasty also functioned as a visual and ideological reference to the obelisks of the Julio-Claudian past. Especially, perhaps, the obelisk functioned as a reference to the obelisks of Augustus in the Campus Martius and the Circus Maximus,

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[127] For the possible aesthetic effect of the bronze 'feet', see Buchner 1982, 8, 18-19; for the globe as a traditional symbol of power, see Schneider 1997, 103-133.
[128] Parker 2003, 205. The exception that proves the rule are, of course, the two obelisks erected in front of Augustus' Mausoleum; see Grenier 1996, 359; Davies 2004, 13-19, 49-67, 137-142.
[129] Thomas 1991, 4; see also Kopytoff 1986, 67, who likewise emphasises *´that what is significant about the adoption of alien objects – as of alien ideas – is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use.*'
[130] Thomas 1991, 5.
[131] Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986. For different uses of the biographical approach in archaeology, see, e.g., Thomas 1996, 141-182; Meskell 1999; 2004; for different theoretical approaches within archaeology, see Shanks 1998; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Holtorf 2002.
[132] Quotation from Gosden and Marshall 1999, 169; Shanks 1998, 17.
[133] Kopytoff 1986, 64-65, 83-87; Thomas 1996, 141; Shanks 1998, 21-23; Gell 1998, 5-7, 12-13, 16-19; Meskell 2004, 3-4; 2005, 51-71; Webmoor and Witmore 2008, 53-70; Miller 2010, 42-78, 93-94.
[134] Gosden and Marshall 1999, 170.

which, unlike the obelisks of the Mausoleum and the obelisk of Caligula in the Vatican Circus, carried hieroglyphic inscriptions, and, of course, – although arguably only in a distant way –to the obelisks of the Egyptian pharaohs.[135]

An important element in the Roman appropriation and re-contextualisation of the obelisks and other *aegyptiaca* is the tension between knowledge and lack of 'correct' knowledge about the Egyptian imports. In situations of culture contact, material culture represents very complex social forms and distributions of knowledge. From a biographical point of view, the essential point is that as things '*[…] travel greater distances (institutional, spatial, temporal), knowledge about them tends to become partial, contradictory, and differentiated.*'[136] Knowledge and the distribution of knowledge is admittedly a complex phenomenon closely related to issues of meaning, the shaping of individual and collective identity, and the disposition of power in a given society.[137] However, exploring how and in what ways the Flavian *Isea* and their 'Egyptian' decoration *made sense* to a Roman audience also means inquiring into the *knowledge* that went into the selection, appropriation, and re-contextualisation of the *aegyptiaca*. Did the Romans select the *aegyptiaca* at random, from what was readily available, mainly to create an exotic atmosphere, or were the *aegyptiaca* carefully chosen by (e.g., Egyptian) priests possessing the necessary knowledge of their religious content and meaning? Moreover, in what ways did the previous Augustan appropriation of 'Egypt' affect the Flavian selection?[138]

As pointed out by Elsner, the *aegyptiaca* and other cultural borrowings, in their Roman context, no longer existed in the exclusive, special, or privileged state of their original creation.[139] However, in the particular case of the Flavian *Isea*, there can be no doubt that some people must have regarded the displayed *aegyptiaca* as sacred. While, to us, the chronological, geographical and thematic distribution of the imported *aegyptiaca* shows '*little systematic logic*', their selection does, at the same time, paradoxically, reflect '*a great deal of antiquarian, religious and multicultural sensitivity*.'[140] As emphasised above, we know very little about the criteria by which the *aegyptiaca* were selected. Although some information about the date and place of origin of some of the *aegyptiaca* can be deduced from their hieroglyphic inscriptions, caution is required because, as

[135] For the hieroglyphic inscription on the obelisk of Domitian, see Erman 1917, 4-10, 18-28; Grenier 1987, 937-961; Lembke 1994, 37-41, 210-212.
[136] Appadurai 1986, 41-56, quotation from p. 56.
[137] Gosden 2004, 18-20.
[138] Roullet 1972, 16; Lembke 1994, 33-50, 129-131; Malaise 2005, 204-210; Versluys 2007, 13-14; 2010, 15-20.
[139] Elsner 2006, 272.
[140] Quotations from Elsner 2006, 293. Elsner is here referring to the whole range of artistic forms and styles borrowed by the Romans. See also Lembke 1994, 33-36; Malaise 2005, 204-205.

Bartman comments, '*being movable - if not easily portable - freestanding statuary tends to migrate from its original setting*.'[141] That is, the Romans did not necessarily remove the *aegyptiaca* from their 'original' or primary contexts but from a secondary context in, say, Alexandria.[142] What we do know, however, is that most of the *aegyptiaca* came from religious contexts, and that this religious past – in a re-contextualised form – was important for their successful religious-ideological reuse in their contemporary Roman settings.

Given the difficulty of knowing when the Egyptian imports were put on display in the sanctuaries of Rome and Beneventum it remains problematic to reconstruct a faithful picture of the first, Flavian, layout of the *Isea*. Looked at as a whole, however, there can be no doubt that the thematic and allusive power of the displayed sculptures played an important role. Thus, ideally, the design of the Flavian *Isea* allowed the visitors to walk into the atmosphere of an Egyptian sanctuary.[143] At the same time, and perhaps more importantly, the design of the sanctuaries reflected the values and accomplishments of the *gens Flavia* in a visual and tactile way.[144]

The notion of the 'cultural biography of things' provides the conceptual tool for assessing how, in situations of culture contact, the perception, use and meaning of the adopted objects may change. The case of the Flavian *aegyptiaca* illustrates that the appropriation and re-contextualisation of foreign objects is a delicate and complex process related among other things to the distribution of knowledge at various points in the life history of the adopted objects. In their Roman contexts, the imported *aegyptiaca*, on the one hand, lost their indigenous, 'Egyptian' identity, yet, at the same time, it was this loss of identity and privileged status, which enabled their Roman reuse and re-contextualisation. Consequently, the reception of the Egyptian sculptures must have been varied, depending on the viewer's knowledge and experience. Nevertheless, the displayed sculptures also constituted a *frame* guiding the viewer's experience and associations. Drawing on E. Goffman's idea of frame analysis – the ways in which we try to make sense of and navigate in the world of cultural and social interactions – the displayed sculptures helped set the ideological-religious scene of the Flavian sanctuaries, ensuring 'appropriate' emotional responses. In other words, things (in

[141] Bartman 1991, 72.
[142] Spoiled Egyptian-style decorative items and building blocks from ancient temples in Lower Egypt were reused in Alexandria in both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, see Yoyotte 1998, 202-204; Francocci 2003, 258-262; McKenzie 2003, 45-47; Yoyotte et al. 2006, 378.
[143] It is a matter of dispute whether or not the layout of one or perhaps more of the Egyptian sanctuaries at Philae, Memphis and Alexandria served as a prototype for the design of the Iseum Campense; see Malaise 2005, 205-206. However, there is no evidence of an attempt to deceive, that is, to pass off a visit to the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome as a trip to the *Serapea* of Memphis or Alexandria.
[144] Bartman 1991, 75-79. For the evidence of the art displayed in another Flavian monument, the Templum Pacis, see Darwall-Smith 1996, 58-65; Noreña 2003; Millar 2005.

context) do things to us; they – often unconsciously – help us behave in socially acceptable ways. This 'agentic' and mediatory role of things in social (and divine) relations partly '*inheres in their materiality*', i.e., in their tactile and aesthetic qualities.[145]

In recent years, the concept of *materiality* has received much attention within studies of archaeology and anthropology.[146] Generally, studies of materiality stress the importance of 'things', the nature and properties of their materials and how people relate to things (and materials) in different emotional, conceptual and tactile ways. We have already seen how people and things often make each other, and how things can be said to play an 'active' or mediatory role in our lives.[147] Furthermore, scholars exploring the materiality of things, albeit in different ways, share common ground, in that they criticise the *semiotic* approach to things (including that category of things that we call 'art').[148] Thus, as Olsen points out, we usually interact with and experience things directly, through themselves, '*[…] not as representations of anything other than themselves […].*'[149] Nevertheless, we often tend to 'read' things as if they were text, making a 'statement' about something other than themselves, and in this process, we usually ascribe them a passive role in the social process.[150]

The important point is that just as we may understand things semiotically – mainly relying on the faculty of sight – as symbols and carriers of messages and meaning, we also experience and remember things directly through their sensuous and material qualities by means of all our senses. Historically, however, in western society we tend to overlook the sensory and experiential (and subjective) type of knowledge or remembrance 'directly *of* things' giving preferential treatment instead to descriptive (and objective) knowledge or remembrance '*about* things'. Yet, in their study of social memory, Fentress and Wickham demonstrate how '*in terms of memory itself, such a frontier*

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[145] Goffman 1974, 8, 11; Gell 1998, 5-7, 12-13, 16-19; quotation from Meskell 2003, 45; 2005, 54-58; Aavitsland 2007, 19-49; Miller 2010, 49-54; Kirkhoff Eriksen 2012, 15, 17; Olsen 2012, 30-32. An important source of inspiration for many of these scholars and theories of subject-object relations in general is Pierre Bourdieu's book *Outline of a Theory of Practice* 1977 [1972]. Based on fieldwork in Kabylia (Algeria), Bourdieu developed a theory of practice, a theory of how people act. Simply put, Bourdieu argued that what makes us characteristic of our own culture is a process of (generally unconscious) habituation or interaction with the material world that surrounds us; see Bourdieu 1977, 72; Dornan 2002, 303-329, esp. p. 305-307; Järvinen 2007, 345-366; Knapp and van Dommelen 2008, 15-34, esp. p. 22-23; Miller 2010, 51-54.

[146] The bibliography is vast, see for example Gell 1998; Meskell 2003; 2004; 2005; Ingold 2007; Aavitsland 2007; Osborne and Tanner 2007; Webmoor and Witmore 2008; Miller 2010; Kirkhoff Eriksen 2012; Olsen 2003; 2012.

[147] Gell 1998, 6; Meskell 2003, 40-46; Squire 2009a, 391-392; Olsen 2012, 30-32.

[148] Gell 1998, 6-7; Meskell 2004, 50-55; Miller 2010, 12-13; Olsen 2012, 30-32.

[149] Olsen 2012, 30.

[150] Fentress and Wickham 1992, 19-20; Gell 1998, 6; Miller 2010, 3; see also Ingold 2007, 1-16; Squire 2009a, 391-392; Olsen 2012, 30. Note also the important (ancient and modern) discussion about the subtle balance between the 'subjective' and 'objective' character of ancient (divine) statuary. Generally, as Meskell points out, the ancients made little distinction between the statue of a deity and the deity itself. In Egypt, the statues were indeed the gods in material form, i.e., not just symbols of their invisible existence; see Meskell 2003, 42; 2005, 54-58; moreover Gell 1998, 97; Miller 2010, 68-78. For the Graeco-Roman evidence see Gordon 1979, 1-28; Stewart 2003, 35-41.

[between 'thing' and 'word', or 'sensory' and 'semantic'] *need not be assumed to exist at all.*'[151] In other words, things relate to our (personal and collective) memory and history; they remind us of who we are. As Assmann points out, '*[…] the world of things in which we live has a time index that refers not only to our present but also, and simultaneously, to different phases and levels of our past.*' [152]

If we return for a moment to the sculptural displays of the Flavian *Isea* and consider the question of their *materiality* and their potential to evoke the past, the suggested theoretical approaches add further dimensions to our understanding of how the Roman viewer may have experienced and made sense of the displayed sculptures in a 'direct' and 'unmediated' way. To the Flavians (and especially Domitian) the (re)-construction of the *Isea* provided an obvious opportunity to work on and complement the dynasty's self-image (their cultural biography) as reflected in the associated sculptural programmes. In particular, the displayed *aegyptiaca* evoked and 'recreated' a significant part of the Flavian dynasty's founding history. This history, just as it had been for Augustus, was inextricably linked to Egypt and the city of Alexandria. As material 'evidence', these sculptures became vehicles for remembrance and ensured that the memory of this past was preserved and retold in order to be meaningful for the present.

In this context, it is important to remember Assmann's concept of *mnemohistory*, which "*unlike history proper […] is concerned not with the past as such, but only with the past as it is remembered.*"[153] Why did Vespasian go to Egypt? Why did he stay there for so long? Why were stories of different miraculous events put into circulation? The literary sources mention the strategic and financial importance of Egypt and the need to secure the corn supplies to Rome. Whatever the reasons, the stay in Egypt supplied Vespasian and his sons with a mythical – quasi divine –reputation. Indeed, Tacitus says, eyewitnesses went on telling the story of the miraculous healings in his own day.[154] The point is that, in the long term, as Meyer comments, '*[…] the way things are remembered often proves more powerful than what really happened.*'[155]

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[151] Fentress and Wickham 1992, 15-20, quotation from p. 20; moreover Aavitsland 2007, 23-29, who emphasises how materiality may supplement but also contradicts the iconographic (semiotic) approach to things.
[152] Assmann 2011, 6. In recent decades, the concept of *memory*, just like the concept of *materiality*, has become important within social studies including archaeology. Memory is not only a complex process, it is also a vast subject and the bibliography is correspondingly immense. I have found the following useful: Fentress and Wickham 1992; Nora 1996a; 1996b; Assmann 1997; 2011; Haug 2001; Kirkhoff Eriksen 2012.
[153] Assmann 1997, 9; 2011, 28-31.
[154] Tac. *Hist.* 4.81.3; see also Griffin 2000, 4-11.
[155] Meyer 2003, viii.

The 'Romanness' of Roman art

Closely related to the memory and materiality associated with Egyptian art in Rome is the question of the Romanness of Roman art. '*What, precisely,* Brendel famously asked, *'is Roman in Roman art?*'[156] Brendel formulated this question in a historiographic essay entitled 'Prolegomena to a Book on Roman Art' published in 1953.[157] It is a fundamental question, which despite its immediate simplicity has proven difficult to answer. The question therefore continues to challenge and inspire scholars of Roman art and archaeology.

For long, there was no scholarly concept of Roman art at all because scholars in lack of a distinct 'Roman' style generally considered Roman art a declining version of Greek art.[158] For example, J.J. Winckelmann (1717-1768) in the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* from 1764 discussed Late Republican and Roman Imperial art in a chapter entitled 'Greek art under the Romans and the Roman emperors'.[159] It was only in the late 19th century that F. Wickhoff (1853-1909) and A. Riegl (1858-1905)[160] were able to demonstrate what Elsner has described as '*[…] the independent existence and value of Roman art […]*'.[161]

Brendel himself was not a proponent of a rigid theoretical definition of the concept of Roman art. Brendel believed that Roman art should '*[…] be defined by its extant monuments and not from some preconceived concept […]*'.[162] He accepted that Roman art encompassed a diversity of monuments – not only the traditional 'Roman' creations, i.e., portraits and historical reliefs, and that different stylistic elements of Classical, Hellenistic and ancient Italic origin were present and constantly interacting in Roman monuments.[163] There was not just one 'Greek' model but many,

[156] Brendel 1979, 9.
[157] The study was first published in the *MAAR* and since republished by J.J. Pollitt in 1979; see Pollitt 1979, ix-xiii.
[158] Brendel 1979, 22-23, 41, 78-79; see also Gazda 2002, 5.
[159] Winckelmann 2006, 328-351. In Lodge's American translation of the '*Geschichte*', published between 1849 and 1872 and based on the posthumous (1776) German edition, the chapter is entitled 'Greek art among the Romans', see Potts 2006, 2, moreover, Marvin 2008, 115-119.
[160] F. Wickhoff and W. Ritter von Hartel, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Wien 1895; A. Riegl, *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn*, Wien 1901; for a discussion of these works see, Brendel 1979, 25-37.
[161] Elsner 2004, xx.
[162] Brendel 1979, 146.
[163] Brendel 1979, 122-137, 144-148, 156-161. The stylistic influence of Egyptian and Oriental art is only vaguely formulated in connection with Brendel's summary of the now outdated 'dualistic theories of roman art' which basically distinguished between 'great art' which was 'Classicizing', i.e., Greek, and 'popular art' which was 'anticlassical', i.e., non-Greek; 101-121. On the relationship between the Etruscan civilisation and its Greek and Roman counterparts see, Ridgway 2010, 43-61.

including some of non-Greek origin. Indeed, part of the Romanness of Roman art inheres in its retrospective, pluralistic and eclectic character.[164]

However, in this pluralistic vision of Roman art, scholars, until recently, generally neglected the influence of Egyptian art. As noted above, the scholarly literature usually treats Egyptian art as something exotic and apart, as something determined by temporary waves of fashion.[165] Yet, as Vout points out, this view of Egypt is likely to reflect post-Napoleonic and modern conceptions of the 'land of the Nile', not ancient ones.[166] Nevertheless, did 'Egyptian' art ever become 'Roman'? Yes and no! Discussing the concepts of 'hellenisation' and 'romanisation', Wallace-Hadrill mentions how '*Everything under Roman* [political] *control may be taken as 'Roman', whereas within that control, the 'Greek' may remain culturally distinctive.*'[167] In a similar way, we can easily identify 'Egyptian' art stylistically even when produced in Rome. Indeed, in the Roman period, these different artistic and cultural styles no longer belongs to a single centre of production.

In order to understand why and how the Flavians appropriated 'Egypt' we need, as does Elsner in the above-mentioned citation,[168] to include the Egyptian in a pluralistic understanding of the Romanness of Roman art. Moreover, we should stop thinking of Egypt and Egyptian art as something inherently exotic and apart. Indeed, I hope to demonstrate how, as noted by Davies, '*[…] there are ways to think of aegyptiaca as Roman – harmonizing effortlessly with Roman political practice, answering Roman needs and tastes, and shaping Roman art.*'[169]

The Roman *aegyptiaca* – who made them?

What role does ethnicity play in understanding the Romanness of Roman art? Who were the sculptors of the Egyptian and, in particular, the egyptianising sculptures? Is it possible, based on the style and material of a given sculpture, to say something about the ethnic and cultural identity of the sculptor? In the case of the Egyptian imports of the Pharaonic and Ptolemaic period, it is generally assumed

[164] Hölscher 2004, 5-9; Elsner 2004, xvii-xviii; 2006, 270-276; Hallett 2005, 271-307; Perry 2005, 38-48; Marvin 2008, 168-217; for the specific interaction between Egyptian and Roman art, see Versluys 2002, 381, 383; 2007, 13-14; 2010, 17-20; (forthcoming), xx; Vout 2003, 177-202; Osborne and Vout 2010, 241-242; Davies 2011, 354-370.
[165] de Vos 1980; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 356-361.
[166] Vout 2003, 179. See also the work of Versluys 2002, 381, 383; 2007, 13-14; 2010, 17-20; Elsner 2004; 2006; Swetnam-Burland 2007; 2009; 2010; 2010a; and most recently Davies 2011.
[167] Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 26-27.
[168] Elsner 2006, 271 and p. 25 above.
[169] Davies 2011, 354.

that the sculptors were Egyptians. However, who created the egyptianising, i.e., Roman period, sculptures?

According to the traditional view, '*a good copy* [i.e., a work in egyptianising style] *could only be done properly by an Egyptian*'.[170] Only the Egyptian sculptors mastered the art of sculpting the hard Egyptian stones like granite and porphyry and only they knew and respected the Egyptian canon of proportion and representation. The Roman sculptors, on the other hand, followed the 'classical' Greek canon and worked in the softer and more workable stones like marble and limestone. Thus, the technical and artistic qualities or, as mentioned by Malaise, the '*traitement psychologique*' of the egyptianising sculptures were closely related to the ethnic identity of the sculptors.[171] Although much disputed, it is generally assumed that Egyptian sculptors executed the egyptianising sculptures in Italy. These sculptors would have worked in highly specialised workshops established in Rome/Italy after the annexation of Egypt to meet an increasing demand for statues in coloured stones.[172]

In her work on the Iseum Campense, Lembke suggests a more nuanced approach to the classification of the egyptianising works of art including the question of the ethnicity of the sculptors who made them. She broadly distinguishes between Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures, but further subdivides the latter category into '*ägyptisch-römischen Werken*' and '*römisch-ägyptischen Werken*'.[173] The first category covers egyptianising sculptures made by Egyptian sculptors (in Egypt or abroad); the second category covers egyptianising sculptures made by Roman or Italian sculptors (in Italy). The distinction between the two is largely based on the material employed: granite and basalt of Egyptian origin in the case of the Egyptian sculptors versus a more varied use of materials, in particular granite and white and coloured marbles of non-Egyptian origin, in the case of the Roman

[170] Quotation from Roullet 1972, 18, 153-156 (Appendix III: Monuments exported from Egypt to Imperial Rome), 157-158 (Appendix IV: Monuments created at Rome). Among Egyptologists, the development of Egyptian art in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods is generally considered to be degenerative and contaminated by outside influences. This also includes the *aegyptiaca* of Rome and Beneventum, which Müller 1969, 9, 17-18, characterises as '*[…] Werke einer im Niedergang begriffenen Kunst […]*'; see also Ashton 2010, 970.

[171] Quotation from Malaise 1972, 303, nos. 45-47; on the identity of the sculptors, see also Ashton 2010, 977-988 and, more generally, Stewart 2008, 10-38.

[172] It has also been suggested that some of the sculptures were executed in Alexandrian workshops, this idea, however, is rejected by Roullet 1972, 18-19; see also Nista 1989, 36; Gregarek 1999, 47-50. Generally, little is known about the presence of 'Egyptians' in Rome. In the imperial period, 'Egyptians' (often Alexandrians and soldiers) appear only rarely in the Roman epigraphic record, and their status is not always clear; see Ricci 1993, 71-91; Versluys 2002, 420-422; Swetnam-Burland 2007, 114-115. For the possible role of Egyptian architects in the construction of the Romano-Egyptian sanctuaries, see Lembke 1994, 181; Quack 2005, 403.

[173] Lembke 1994, 33-50. The 'römisch-ägyptischen Werken' include (a) copies and (b) imitations of Egyptian sculptures and architectural elements and (c) sculptures, which only adopt a few Egyptian motifs.

sculptors. Moreover, the classification also reflects the extent to which the sculptor was capable of adapting the Egyptian canon.

Although more detailed in its classification, Lembke's approach largely reflects the traditional view in its distinction between 'Egyptian' sculptors working in hard Egyptian stones within the Egyptian tradition and 'Roman' sculptors who did not master the art of sculpting the hard Egyptian stones and generally failed to understand the Egyptian canon of representation.[174] No doubt, the working of the hard Egyptian stones demanded a high degree of skill and expertise and probably people of Egyptian origin were among the sculptors mastering these skills.[175] However, in the cosmopolitan world of the Roman empire, it makes little sense to describe and classify sculptures (and art more generally) as either 'Egyptian', 'Greek' or 'Roman' on the basis of the sculptor's ethnic and cultural identity or the type of material employed for that matter. Thus, a 'Roman' sculptor was not necessarily ethnically Roman, because, as argued by Wallace-Hadrill, '*[…] the 'Roman'* [as cultural identity] *is defined by political structures*.'[176]

Thus, we need to approach the egyptianising sculptures chronologically – as a part of the eclectic character of Roman art – rather than on the basis of the ethnic identity of the sculptors. This observation suggests that 'Roman' and 'Greek' sculptors could, and indeed did create egyptianising art (as well as art in other styles) in a variety of materials, including the hard Egyptian stones like granite and porphyry. Hence, the traditional view that 'Roman' sculptors '*[…] may not and did not always get Egyptian imagery 'right' […]*' clearly reflects modern aesthetics and systems of classification more than ancient ones.[177]

As an example of Rome's cosmopolitan character and the complex relationship between the ethnic and cultural identity of the sculptors and the subject matter, style and material of the egyptianising sculptures, I shall briefly consider the evidence of a statue representing the Egyptian god Thoth in the form of a squatting baboon. (Fig. 4) It was found in the Middle Ages beneath S. Stefano 'del Cacco' in the Campus Martius and originally formed part of the sculptural decoration of

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[174] Roullet 1972, 21-22, describes '*[…] the deep misunderstanding of Egyptian representations by the Romans […]*'.
[175] For a theoretical approach to the development of creative traditions in art, i.e., how each work is related to both its predecessors and successors, and how such repeated and interrelated acts of creation may establish representational conventions, limiting the freedom of the artist in his choice of material, style and subject-matter, see Gell 1998, 153; Woolf 2003, 162.
[176] Perry 2005, 23-24; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 26-27, quotation from p. 27; Marvin 2008, 213-217. For the continued creation of stylistically distinctive 'Greek' or 'Egyptian' art under Roman rule, see the discussion in the sections on 'Acculturation' and 'The Romanness of Roman art' above.
[177] Swetnam-Burland 2007, 115-116, quotation from p. 116. Swetnam-Burland emphasises the value of the Italian-made *aegyptiaca* for '*[…] reconstructing the Roman discourse on Egypt and the place Romans imagined Egypt to be.*'; see also Davies 2011, 359-360 and Marvin 2008, 218-247, emphasising the genius of the Roman sculptors in relation to the creation of 'Ideal Sculpture'.

the Iseum Campense.[178] The inscription on its base is bilingual: the dedication on the front and left side is in Greek and Latin while the names of the sculptors are rendered in Greek on the right side of the base. The inscription reads:

Front: Φ[---] ---N--- ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
Ph […, son of …] dedicated (this statue).

Right side: ΦΙΔΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΜΜΟ[ΝΙΟΣ ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙ] ΦΙΔΙΟΥ ΕΠΟΙΟ[ΥΝ]
Phidias and Ammonios, both sons of Phidias, made (this).

Left side: [LOC.] ADSIGN. A CAELIO … ILLIANO MAXIMO [CUR.] AED. SACR. [ET OP.] PV[B.] DED. […] SEPT. QVINTILLO ET PRISCO COS.
(Ph…) dedicated (this) on a location assigned by Caelius […]illianus Maximus, curator of sacred buildings and public works, […] Septimus Quintillus and Priscus being consuls.[179]

The mention of the two consuls, Plautius Quintillus and Marcus Statius Priscus, dates the dedication to AD 159. It seems likely that the dedicator in choosing a bilingual inscription in addition to his adherence to the cult of Isis symbolically expressed another feature of his identity. However, of particular interest and importance here is the association between the Greek-sounding names of the sculptors, the distinctive Egyptian subject matter and the non-Egyptian material (*'marmo bigio'*) of the statue.[180] Although nothing indicates that the sculptors were ethnically Egyptians, it has been suggested, based on the Egyptian associations of the name Ammônios, that *'[…] the family may have originated in Roman Egypt and specialised in this sort of Egyptian-style work.'*[181] Moreover, as demonstrated by Stewart, the unmistakably Greek name of the other sculptor, Phidias, inherited from the father, does not necessarily imply that he - or the family - was of Greek origin. Indeed the name may have been adopted for professional reasons, because, as noted by Ling, *'[…] appearing to be Greek was perceived as a mark of*


Figure 4

[178] The sculpture has since 1838 been on display in the Musei Vaticani, MGE, inv. 34; Botti and Romanelli 1951, 114-115, no. 181; Lembke 1994, 41, 142-143, no. B 8, 238, no. E 36. Lembke classifies the statue among the 'römisch-ägyptischen Werken (a)', i.e., copies of Egyptian statues created by Roman/Italian sculptors.
[179] *IG* XIV 1264 / *CIL* VI 857 = *RICIS* 501/0123; (my translation).
[180] For the *Neri antichi*, see Chapter 5, 'Polychrome marbles', below.
[181] Stewart 2008, 10-38, quotation from p. 22.

quality in art-production […]', including, apparently, when the style and content of the work was 'Egyptian' (!).[182] It seems, then, that we are dealing with 'pseudo-Greek' sculptors creating egyptianising sculptures in a 'pseudo-Egyptian' material. Thus, as argued above, the egyptianising style and content, the non-Egyptian material and Roman date of the Vatican baboon say little about the ethnic or cultural identity of its sculptors.

The Roman *aegyptiaca* between sacred and profane

One of the main questions in understanding the reception and meaning of Egypt and things Egyptian outside Egypt, in particular Rome, is the either religious or profane status of the *aegyptiaca* (and ancient art in general). In recent years, different theoretical positions have come to the fore and discussions have been centred both on issues of terminology as well as on the religious or profane 'function' of the *aegyptiaca*. In the following, I will discuss the two main approaches: the aprioristic religious understanding of the Egyptian artefacts, and the so-called 'new' approach, which argues that the religious interpretation of the *aegyptiaca* is just one possibility among many.[183]

In his seminal article on 'The Real and the Imaginary' from 1979, R. Gordon remarks that '*[…] in the process of cultural borrowing between Greece and Rome in which the Romans ransacked the Hellenistic world for art objects, there occurred an important reclassification of Greek religious art: it became "art" not an "offering"*.'[184] Although the universality of such a distinction is questionable, there is some evidence to suggest that the Romans themselves made such divisions,[185] and we might suspect that a similar change of meaning took place with regard to the Roman seizure of Egyptian statuary.[186] Nevertheless, it is important to remember, as Stewart points out, that '*[…] the famous works of art mentioned by Pliny and others did not fill 'Roman museums' but temples, sanctuaries, and their porticoes like the Porticus Octaviae and its neighbouring sanctuaries*' and, in this sense, the works of art served a purpose.[187]

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[182] Ling 2009, 601.
[183] For an overview of the different scholarly positions, see Versluys 2007, 1-7, 13-14.
[184] Gordon 1979, 11; moreover Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 207, 221. For a different approach emphasising the '*active negotiation of the relationship between […] the ritual and the aesthetic*', see Platt 2010, 197-213.
[185] After the siege of Capua (late 3rd century BC) Livy 26.34.12 reports how '*they* [i.e., the Roman senate] *referred to the college of pontiffs, to decide which of them* [i.e., the captured images, statues of bronze] *were sacred* [sacer] *and which profane* [profanus]'; see Edwards 2003, 49-57.
[186] In this context, it is important to distinguish between objects ('art') taken as spoils of war, e.g., the Augustan obelisks in the Circus Maximus and the Campus Martius, and objects ('art') acquired for other – aesthetic, decorative, religious, political or ideological – reasons, such as, e.g., Cicero's purchase of Greek sculptures to his villa at Tusculum or the Flavian *aegyptiaca*; see Marvin 1993, 161-188; Hellenkemper Salies 1994; Miles 2008.
[187] Stewart 2003, 229; moreover Hölscher 2002, 13; Marvin 2008, 241; Zanker 2010, 59-60.

Scholars advocating the 'religious' approach, such as M. Malaise, urge for a narrower and more precise terminology. In Malaise's *Pour une terminologie et une analyse des cultes isiaques*, he distinguishes between the concepts of *isiaca*, *aegyptiaca*, *pharaonica*, *nilotica*, and products of *aegyptomania*.[188] These different terms categorise the artefacts according to age, geographic origin (the 'authenticity' of the object),[189] and perhaps most importantly the either sacred or secular nature of their contexts. Thus, for example, the term *aegyptiaca* defines, '*des objets importés en dehors du circuit isiaque; si par la suite ils y ont été intégrés, on parlerait de pharaonica.*'[190] Whereas, the term *pharaonica* defines, '*des œuvres égyptiennes qui ont trouvé place dans les lieux de cultes isiaques, qu'il s'agisse de sanctuaires publics ou privés, voire de laraires*'.[191] To a certain extent, the boundaries between these categories remain fluid and an object may change category dependent on the interpretation of its context. Consequently, the classification and eventual meaning of the artefacts is inextricably linked with a careful reading of their context.

The relationship between artefact and context is also pivotal to the proponents of the second school of thought. However, scholars like Versluys and Swetnam-Burland understand and use the term *aegyptiaca*[192] in a much broader sense. In Swetnam-Burland's definition, the word *aegyptiaca* applies to '*all Egyptian-themed material regardless of provenance*'[193] Likewise, Versluys equates '*Egyptian style artefacts*' with *aegyptiaca*.[194] When understood in this way, the term bridges the traditional (archaeological and art-historical) categories of 'Egyptian', i.e., original artefacts imported from Egypt, and 'egyptianising', i.e., objects made outside Egypt in Egyptian style. When approached in this way, the Roman reception and appropriation of 'Egypt' moves to the foreground whereas the question of the geographic origin and authenticity of the artefacts becomes less important.[195]

The deconstruction of the categories of 'Egyptian' and 'egyptianising' does not exclude, however, that a connoisseurial gaze would have been able to distinguish between Egyptian imports and Roman emulations. These differences might not have been recognisable at first sight,[196] but

[188] Malaise 2005, 29-31; 201-220; Malaise 2007, 21, 34-38.
[189] Malaise 2005, 202; Malaise 2007, 34.
[190] Malaise 2005, 204.
[191] Malaise 2005, 204; for a similar distinction see also Yoyotte 1998, 199.
[192] Scholars seem to use '*aegyptiaca*' interchangeably with the less frequently encountered term '*egyptiana*'; Elsner 2003, 319; 2006, 276; Versluys 2007, 4-5.
[193] Swetnam-Burland 2007, 113.
[194] Versluys 2010, 15.
[195] Swetnam-Burland 2007, 115-116; see also Versluys 2002, 305.
[196] Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 112-113, emphasises how archaeologists and historians of religion approach the *aegyptiaca* differently. Hence, the distinction between 'Egyptian' and 'egyptianising' prevails among archaeologists, whereas historians of religion ascribe it little value. According to this view, the stylistic and chronological categorisation of the

despite the general Egyptian impression of a given object or setting, difference was signalled for example by the omission of a hieroglyph inscription, the addition of a Latin inscription or by the use of materials of non-Egyptian origin.[197] Nevertheless, we have little or no evidence that the Romans considered the Egyptian objects to be more valuable, genuine, or religious than their Roman 'egyptianising' counterparts. In this context, however, I have found the terms useful as general *chronological* indicators, i.e., 'Egyptian' denoting something Pharaonic or Ptolemaic and 'egyptianising' something Roman.[198]

My understanding and use of the term '*aegyptiaca*' generally follows the second school of thought. My preference for the broad – some would say vague – definition of *aegyptiaca* as '*Egyptian style artefacts*'[199] is not a result of definitional sloppiness. On the contrary, I deliberately adopt this understanding of the term because of its inclusiveness and its ability to frame a group of monuments, which at least when studied from a Roman perspective is inherently ambiguous. My aim is not to dismiss Malaise's call for a more precise terminology. However, I am not convinced that the introduction of new terms and further categorisation of the *aegyptiaca* is the way forward. Because of their material, thematic, stylistic, and chronological 'otherness' scholars traditionally and easily segregate the *aegyptiaca* '*into a specifically Egyptian ghetto*'.[200] I mainly refrain from using Malaise's terminology because I see a risk of further ghettoisation of the *aegyptiaca*.

As far as we can reconstruct the archaeological contexts of the *aegyptiaca*, nothing indicates that the Romans subcategorized or 'isolated' them from other non-Egyptian monuments. On the contrary, the *aegyptiaca* occur in a great variety of 'typical' Roman settings from the Circus Maximus in Rome to the *cubicula* in the Pompeian houses and within these contexts, a juxtaposition and visual interaction between Egyptian and Graeco-Roman monuments took place.[201] Thus, to obtain a more nuanced understanding of the Roman reception and use of the *aegyptiaca*, we need to break them loose from the 'Egyptian ghetto' and to reinterpret them within a Roman cultural

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aegyptiaca was unimportant and without religious significance to most of the visitors in the Romano-Egyptian sanctuaries.

[197] Grey Elba granite was used for the columns with egyptianising reliefs from the Iseum Campense, see Bongrani 1992.

[198] For a critique of the traditional now outdated understanding of 'Egyptian' as something 'authentic' and 'egyptianising' as something 'less authentic', see Versluys 2010, 16.

[199] Versluys 2010, 15; for the (rare) Roman use of the word '*aegyptiacus*' (*things or matters related to Egypt*), see Swetnam-Burland 2007, 119.

[200] Quotation from Elsner 2003, 319; see also Elsner 2006, 277-278; Beard et al. 1998, 281-282. For two different examples of a segregated approach to *aegyptiaca*, see Grenier 1989 and Lollio Barberi et al. 1995.

[201] For the '*general occurrence'* of Egyptian and egyptianising monuments and artefacts in Rome, see Versluys 2002, 374-376; see also Beard et al. 1998, 278-291, for the association (also visual) of 'new' and 'traditional' cults in Rome.

framework. Only in this way, the *aegyptiaca* come to represent an important cultural element in the formation of Roman imperial identity and self-understanding.

However, the adoption of this broad definition of the term *aegyptiaca* also blurs the distinction between the either 'cultic' or 'cultural'[202] – sacred or secular – interpretations of the objects and their contexts. Whereas Malaise maintains that, above all, the *pharaonica* – the Egyptian imports found in Romano-Egyptian sanctuaries – continued to play a religious role,[203] other scholars, including Versluys and Swetnam-Burland, argue for diverse interpretations of the Egyptian material emphasising the role of the (Roman) viewer.[204] The adherents of this relativistic approach essentially argue that people responded differently to the *aegyptiaca*. What represented a religious figure to some might have evoked different actions, feelings, and associations among others.

In the *a priori* religious case of the Iseum Campense in Rome, the multi-layered meanings of the *aegyptiaca* have led scholars to suggest that for people outside the Isiac community the sanctuary might have functioned as a museum of Egyptian art or as a recreational garden.[205] Most radical in this sense is perhaps Egelhaaf-Gaiser who argues that the role of the imported artefacts was purely aesthetic and as such unrelated to the cultic activities in the sanctuary.[206] The likely connection between the Iseum and the various processes concerning the storage and re-distribution of the *annona* in Rome also suggests that other, in our understanding, non-religious activities took place in or in relation to the sanctuary.[207] As for the 'political' significance of the Iseum and its surrounding monuments, scholars generally agree that the sanctuary ideologically played an important role for Domitian's self-representation and, more generally, for the legitimacy and authority of the *gens Flavia*.[208] Nevertheless, we must ask ourselves whether from the perspective of the ancients, it makes sense to distinguish between 'cultic' and 'cultural' contexts,[209] and 'religious', 'political' 'decorative' or even 'exotic' *aegyptiaca*?[210]

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[202] Malaise 1972, xii-xiii; 1972a, 17-18; 2005, 15.
[203] Malaise 2005, 205-206; for a similar view, see Yoyotte 1998, 205; moreover Quack 2005, 404; Gasparini 2009, 351.
[204] Versluys 2002, 304-316, 355, 375, 381 for a critical assessment of previous scholarship and the need to consider the multiple meanings of the *aegyptiaca* and their contexts, i.e., religious, exotic-decorative, and political; Swetnam-Burland 2007, 113-136 for an analysis of the *'[...]multiple and multivalent associations all aegyptiaca [...] had for their various audiences […]*'; more recently Versluys 2010, 15-16.
[205] Lembke 1994, 22 (Gartenanlage), 134 ("Museum" ägyptischer Kunst), 136 (Erholungspark); Versluys 1997, 163, 168; 2002, 355.
[206] Egelhaaf-Gaiser describes the imported statues as *[...] ästhetisierten und museale Schaustücken [...]*; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 178-182, 221; for a similar point of view, see Lembke 1994, 42; Mania 2008, 116-119.
[207] This seems to have been the case at least from the late second century AD, see Ensoli 2000, 276-277.
[208] Lembke 1994, 80 (Imperialer Selbstdarstellung); moreover Takács 1995, 100-102; Ensoli 1998, 427-430.
[209] Malaise 1972a, 17-18; 2005, 15.
[210] Versluys 2002, 375.

It is not my intention here to engage in a lengthy discussion of the division between the spheres of religion and politics in ancient Graeco-Roman society. It is, however, necessary to emphasise that although the ancients recognised such a distinction, they did so in a different and less absolute way than we as citizens in modern western societies instinctively do today.[211] Thus, scholars generally agree that an absolute (Durkheimian) dichotomy between the sacred and the profane fails when applied to Graeco-Roman or other 'traditional' religions.[212] Gradel pertinently describes how the religious dimension in Graeco-Roman culture '*[...] is absent in the sense that 'the divine' or the 'other world' forms a whole with other aspects of human experience, including politics, and can be separated and dissected on its own only at the peril of understanding.*'[213] Accordingly, the functions of monumental public buildings were often multi-faceted and we know, for example, that 'profane' activities, like senate meetings, could take place in 'sacred' spaces like temples.[214] Just as we might enter Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome, not to attend mass, but to admire the works of Michelangelo and other great artists, so we might also assume that not everyone who entered the Iseum did so with a religious motive. This does not exclude, however, a general awareness of the primary function and atmosphere of the space you are entering. Indeed, you might act and dress differently – or at least be expected to do so – when admiring works of art in a church rather than in a museum. This again has a great influence on how we respond to and experience the artwork.[215] Thus, the spheres of 'sacred' and 'profane' were inextricably embedded in each other and although they were not always '*identical spheres of operation*', the absence of a clear dichotomy between the two constitute an essential prerequisite against which we continually have to understand and counterbalance our own classification of the *aegyptiaca* and their contexts.[216]

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[211] For different perspectives on the distinction between sacred and profane/religion and politics in Graeco-Roman culture, see Gordon 1979, 17-19; Beard and North 1990, 1-14; Curran 1994, 46-58; Scullion 2005, 111-119; Gradel 2009, 1-8.

[212] Durkheim's seminal work on *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* appeared in 1912. In this work, Durkheim states that one of the definitive features of religion is the classification of the real or ideal things into what he calls '*deux genres opposés*', i.e., the profane and the sacred; Durkheim 1968, 50-51. Durkheim's work was generally influenced by post-French revolutionary thought, but no doubt also by the recent (1905) passing of the French law on the separation of the Churches and State in the *Chambre des députés*, see Ramp 2010, 58-59; moreover Scullion 2005, 112-113.

[213] Gradel 2009, 1-8, quotation from p. 6. Within anthropological studies, M. Strathern's distinction between the western '*individual*' and the Melanesian '*dividual*' represents an important parallel when discussing general differences between pre-modern and modern notions of self in relation to society; for this and the important role of material culture in the creation of 'dividual' and 'individual' personhoods, see Gosden 2004, 33-40.

[214] Thompson 1981, 335-339.

[215] For the relation between 'human behaviour' and the different contexts of 'human action', see Miller 2010, 49-50.

[216] Beard and North 1990, 8.

The Roman *aegyptiaca* and the question of *decorum*

Finally, I will briefly discuss the *aegyptiaca* in relation to the concepts of 'art' and '*decorum*'. The modern association between the display of art in Roman public buildings and 'museums of art' is often related to a famous passage in Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* in which he describes how '*ancient masterpieces of painting and sculpture*' that were previously scattered in various countries are now on display in the Templum Pacis in Rome.[217] Generally, this description corresponds well with our modern (western) idea of the (national) museum. Just think of the British Museum that sees itself as '*a museum of the world, for the world*'.[218] I shall return to the discussion of the *aegyptiaca* as objects of art and the idea of the Iseum Campense as a museum in Chapter 7 below. In this context, it is important to note that within the study of classical antiquity, the concept of 'art' is in itself contested. I shall therefore define my own understanding and use of the term.

I generally apply the term 'art' in its broadest sense. In my understanding, the large-scale sculptures of the Flavian *Isea* in Beneventum and Rome were as much part of the Roman material and visual world as any other archaeological object. Whitley puts it in the following way: '*Archaeology is the study of material culture. All art is material culture, though not all material culture is art*'.[219] At least, we might add, as citizens of the western world, we do not think of or classify all material culture as 'art'. The cause of disagreement naturally lies in the distinction between 'art' and 'material culture' and the question of whether such a distinction existed in the Graeco-Roman world. Moreover, if so, which objects, then, are 'art' and which are not?

Indeed such a distinction is very culture-specific and to some extent, the discussion says more about various modern academic traditions and approaches than it does about any ancient reality.[220] Nevertheless, scholars have repeatedly emphasised that the Greeks and Romans made no verbal distinction between 'art' and 'craft'. The Greek term '*τέχνη*' and the Latin equivalent '*ars*' referred to any kind of (specialised) skill and were used indiscriminately of the making of shoes, sculptures, furniture, poetry, and pottery alike.[221] This observation is perfectly valid and should

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[217] Joseph *BJ* 7.158-161. Darwall-Smith 1996, 65, characterises the Templum Pacis as an 'open-air museum'.
[218] http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/tours_and_loans/international_exhibitions.aspx, 21/10/13; for the idea of the 'universal museum', see also Binns 2006.
[219] Whitley 2001, xxiii. Elsner 2010, 304-305, calls this approach the '*dirt-archaeological materialist line*'.
[220] For a recent synthesis of the *status quaestionis* from the point of view of Classical art history, see Squire 2010, 133-163; moreover Stewart 2008, 4-7, 174-176, who in line with Squire sees the (social) history of art as the obvious mediator between different sub-disciplines including Classical archaeology. For other views on the inherent dichotomy between 'archaeology' and 'art history' within classical archaeology, see Hölscher 2002, 13; Fejfer 2008, 4-5.
[221] So, e.g., Hölscher 2002, 13: '*Es gab keine grundsätzliche, auch keine sprachliche Grenze zwischen Kunstwerk und (kunst-) – handwerklichem Produkt.*' See also Stewart 2008, 2: '*[…] they* [i.e., the Romans] *did not see it* [i.e., art] *as an elevated creation, cut off from the mundane practicality of other objects […]*'.

remind us that the concept of 'art for art's sake' is a modern invention, yet it is equally important not to reduce the discussion to a question of whether or not the ancients had a category of 'art' or not.[222] The difficulty with this position is that it creates a dichotomy where none apparently existed. Therefore, it is not a matter of whether 'art' is reducible to 'material culture/craft' or vice versa, but rather, it is a question of what it is that, from a socio-anthropological perspective, in the words of Bourdieu, '*[…] makes the work of art a work of art and not a mundane thing or a simple utensil?*'[223]

The responses to this question are many, varied, and complex and it is not my intention to give a full account of all the different approaches to the problem here. Two recent approaches to Roman art/*aegyptiaca* have influenced the present analysis. The first approach underlines how finding the appropriate balance between the subject of the sculptural decoration and the function or desired atmosphere of a given architectural setting constituted an important element in the experience of space and place among the (elite) Romans. When successful, such designs not only reflected the propriety (*decorum*) of the patron but also had the potential of evoking an association with a (distant) place. This seems to have been the case in Cicero's Tusculum villa where he was eager to create a space, not identical to, but evocative of the academies of Plato and Aristotle in Athens.[224] Similar sculptural and spatial considerations no doubt played a role in the layout of the Romano-Egyptian sanctuaries. To what extent these architectural and sculptural layouts imitated the designs of specific Egyptian sanctuaries or simply evoked a more general 'exotic' association with Egypt remain disputed among scholars.[225] The second approach is the concept of materiality, which focuses on the relationship between people and things, and how, as discussed in the section on the 'cultural biography of things' above, things ('art objects') play an 'active' and mediatory role in our lives.[226]

[222] Whether it is 'justified to discuss ancient "art" as art' has recently been discussed in Platt and Squire 2010, see especially the papers by Porter 2010; Squire 2010, and Tanner 2010. Since the approach is generally art historical it is perhaps not so surprising to find that most of the contributors agree that - when appropriately defined – it is acceptable to describe the visual culture of Greece and Rome as 'art'; for a similar conclusion see also Stewart 2008, 2-3. In a similar way, the origins and applicability of the concepts of 'art' and 'aesthetics' have been discussed from different conceptual perspectives by Shiner 2009 and Porter 2009.

[223] Bourdieu 1987, 203.

[224] For the 'aesthetic of appropriateness' and the relation between specific architectural spaces and certain types of statues, see Marvin 1993, 161-188; 2008, 232-234; Gazda 2002, 6, 10; Perry 2002, 156-157, quotation from p. 157; Bravi 2009, 176-177; 2012; see also the Introduction above. For the Iseum Campense, see Lembke 1994, 26-33; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 178-182.

[225] For an overview of different hypotheses concerning the potential Egyptian prototypes of the Iseum Campense, see Malaise 2005, 205-206. In particular, scholars enhance three Egyptian sanctuaries as potential models for the Iseum Campense: the temple of Isis at Philae, the Serapeum at Saqqara/Memphis, and the Serapeum at Alexandria.

[226] Gell 1998, 6; Meskell 2003, 40-46; Squire 2009a, 391-392; Olsen 2012, 30-32.

4. Egypt in the Roman world: from conquest to consolidation

This chapter provides a brief historical overview of the relationship between Egypt and Rome during the Augustan and Flavian periods. It is divided into two sections, focussing respectively on the role of 'Egypt' in Roman policy and ideology from the time of the battle of Actium in 31 BC until AD 14 and from the advent of Vespasian in AD 69 until the death of Domitian in AD 96. The chapter is primarily based on the evidence provided by literary sources, which, of course, mainly express the Roman point of view. Thus, although a few of the material 'imprints' resulting from this cultural encounter will be taken into account too, the emphasis will be on the Roman side of the story. The chapter aims to demonstrate the gradually changed imperial attitudes towards Egypt and things Egyptian during the above-mentioned period.

The Augustan past

The political relationship between Egypt and Rome was significantly intensified during the second half of the first century BC. Ultimately, however, the close alliances between Cleopatra and Caesar in the 40s BC and later, after the assassination of Caesar (44 BC) and the formation of the Second Triumvirate (43 BC), the one between Cleopatra and Mark Antony in the 30s BC led to the civil war between Octavian in the West and Mark Antony (and Cleopatra) in the East.[227]

In Rome, Octavian used the alliance between Mark Antony and Cleopatra to turn public opinion against Mark Antony, who still had many supporters in the Senate, and who only recently had divorced his sister, Octavia. In 32 BC, war was declared formally against Cleopatra alone, in reality also against the 'enslaved' Mark Antony.[228] The decisive battle took place near Actium, off the western coast of Greece, on September 2, 31 BC. Cleopatra and Mark Antony managed to escape the battle and Cleopatra returned to Alexandria where Mark Antony, who had landed at Paraetonium (Cyrenaica) to confront the defected general L. Pinarius Scarpus, soon joined her. A final engagement by land and sea took place near Alexandria on 1 August 30 BC and Mark Antony, deserted by his soldiers, was decisively defeated. Thus, Octavian entered Alexandria unopposed and, after the

[227] For a detailed historical survey of this period, see Pelling 1996, 1-69; Crook 1996, 70-112.
[228] For the hostile prewar propaganda against Mark Antony (and Cleopatra) in Rome, see Dio Cass. 50.1-4; moreover, Kraft 1967, 189-206. For the declaration of war against Cleopatra, see Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 60.1; Dio Cass. 50.4.3-5, 50.6.1, 50.26.3-4; other sources indicate that Mark Antony was declared a *hostis* at the same time as Cleopatra, see Suet. *Aug.* 17.2; App. *B Civ.* 4.38, 4.45. From an Augustan point of view, the difference between the declaration of foreign as opposed to civil war was, of course, important; see Hjort Lange 2009, 60-70. In principle, moreover, triumphs were granted for victories over foreign enemies alone, not for victories in civil wars (at least attempts were made to disguise such triumphs as victories over foreign foes), see Beard 2007, 123-124, 303-304.

suicides of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, he annexed Egypt to the Roman empire as an imperial province.[229]

Very little is known about Octavian's sojourn in Egypt. The later evidence of Cassius Dio and Suetonius emphasises that no harm was done to the Egyptians and the Alexandrians and that Octavian as a pretext for his kindness mentioned '*[…] their god Serapis, their founder Alexander, and, in the third place, their fellow-citizen Areius […]*', i.e., the stoic Areius Didymus, tutor of Octavian.[230] He visited the tomb of Alexander, but refused to see the remains of the Ptolemies. He likewise declined to visit the Apis bull at Memphis, the traditional centre for the coronation of the rulers, '*[…] declaring that he was accustomed to worship gods, not cattle.*'[231] This refusal as well as the fact that the residence of the new ruler was outside Egypt clearly marked a break with the past for Egypt. Octavian, soon to become Augustus, left Egypt in the autumn of 30 BC. Before leaving he appointed a *praefectus Aegypti* of equestrian rank to administer the province and the three legions stationed there, the first being C. Cornelius Gallus.[232]


Figure 5

The victory, especially the battle of Actium, was highly praised in contemporary poetry, perhaps most famously by Virgil in the *Aeneid*, which describes how the Roman gods, Neptune, Venus and Minerva, supported Octavian, while Mark Antony with his Egyptian ally had to content himself with the support the barking Anubis.[233] Back in Rome, Octavian was granted a triple triumph for his victories in Illyricum, Actium and Egypt. The three-day celebration took place in August 29 BC and according to Cassius Dio, '*[…] the Egyptian celebration surpassed them all in costliness and*

[229] The start of Octavian's reign was counted from the first day of the new Egyptian year, 1 Thoth = 29 August 30 BC. During the imperial period, the Roman provinces were divided into senatorial and imperial provinces. The senatorial provinces were administered by a propraetor or proconsul appointed by the Senate, while the governors of imperial provinces (often requirering a stronger military presence) were appointed by the emperor. For the provincial status and administration of Roman Egypt, see Bowman 1996, 676-702; Jördens 2009, 9-58.
[230] Dio Cass. 51.16.3-4.
[231] Suet. *Aug.* 18.1, 93; Dio Cass. 51.16.5; for detailed summary of these events, including Egyptian sources, see Thompson 1988, 266-276; Herklotz 2012, 13-15.
[232] Cornelius Gallus had played an important role in the siege and capture of Alexandria; see Hoffmann et al. 2009, 5-10; Herklotz 2012, 16-18; Strabo 17.1.12 for the three legions left in Egypt; on the strategic importance of Egypt and its grain supply, see Tac. *Ann.* 2.59.7. Octavian spent the winter of 30/29 BC in Syria and Asia Minor and returned to Rome via Greece in the course of the summer of 29 BC; see Dio Cass. 51.18.1, 51.21.1.
[233] Verg. *Aen.* 8, 671-713 (esp. 698-700); see also Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984, 1853-1855. For other contemporary references to Actium and Cleopatra as a '*fatale monstrum*' (deadly monster), see Hor. *Carm.* 1, 37; Prop. 3.11.29-56; 4.6.25-68; Ov. *Fast.* 1.711-712, *Met.* 13.715, 15.826-828;

magnificence.'[234] Dio further mentions how Cleopatra Selene and Alexander Helios, the twins of Mark Antony and Cleopatra, together with an effigy of the dead Cleopatra upon a couch were paraded through the streets of Rome as part of the Egyptian triumph.[235] It seems likely, however, that the children of Mark Antony and Cleopatra – the most prestigious 'trophies' of Octavian – were displayed in the Actian triumph as well. This is suggested by a relief scene from Octavian's victory monument at Nicopolis, depicting a triumphator in *toga picta* riding in a chariot with two young children, usually identified as Octavian with Cleopatra Selene and Alexander Helios. (Fig. 5) This *tropaeum* was erected in the 20s BC at the site of Octavian's military camp, opposite the promontory of Actium. Thus, the role of the children would have been twofold: in the Actian triumph, they symbolised Augustus' *clementia* and politics of reconciliation; in the Egyptian triumph they, together with the effigy of their mother, symbolised the enemy.[236]

Figure 6

The image of Egypt as the defeated enemy was further emphasised by a series of coins struck in 28-27 BC, showing a crocodile and the legend '*Aegypto Capta*' on the reverse (Fig. 6), and in monumental form, by the erection of at least four Egyptian obelisks in Rome. Two of these obelisks, uninscribed, were set up in front of Augustus' Mausoleum in the Campus Martius,[237] one served as gnomon for the nearby solar meridian of Augustus, and, finally, an obelisk was set up on the *spina* in the Circus Maximus. The two last mentioned obelisks carried identical inscriptions on their bases, emphasising that the dedication took place '*[…] when Egypt had been brought under the sway of the Roman people.*'[238] (Fig. 7) Both obelisks were re-dedicated to Sol and the re-erection took

[234] Dio Cass. 51.21.7.
[235] Dio Cass. 51.21.8. The procession also included a representation of the captured Nile (*captivis … aquis*); see Prop. 2.1.31-32; moreover, Zimmermann 2003, 329-330; Pfeiffer 2010a, 277.
[236] For the Actian victory monument at Nicopolis, including its frieze, see Zachos 2003, 64-92; Kleiner and Buxton 2008, 77-79; Hjort Lange 2009, 95-123, esp. p. 106-111; Pollini 2012, 191-196. See also Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 87.1, who describes how the children of Mark Antony '*[…] were taken up by Octavia and reared with her own children.*'
[237] For the ideological importance of the Mausoleum in relation to Octavian's propaganda against Mark Antony, who, according to his will, allegedly requested to be buried next to Cleopatra at Alexandria, see Kraft 1967, 195-206; for the obelisks, see Iversen 1968, 47-54 (St. Maria Maggiore), 115-127 (Piazza del Quirinale); Buchner 1996, 161-168; Grenier 1996, 359; Versluys 2002, 357 (2.5.6).
[238] '*Aegypto in Potestatem / Populi Romani Redecta* /', *CIL* VI, 701-702; Iversen 1968, 65, 142; compare also *RGDA* 27.1. These obelisks were originally erected at Heliopolis by Pharaoh Psammetichus II (595-589 BC) [the gnomon obelisk] and the Pharaohs Seti I and Ramses II (1294-1279, 1279-1213 BC) [the obelisk in the Circus Maximus]; see Strabo 17.1.27; Plin. *HN* 36.70-73; Amm. Marc. 17.4.12-23; moreover, Iversen 1968, 65-75 (Piazza del Popolo), 142-160 (Montecitorio); Buchner 1982; 1996, 161-168; Schütz 1990, 432-457; Schneider 2004, 155-179; Heslin 2007, 1-20; Davies 2011, 359-367.

place in 10 BC, the twentieth anniversary of the conquest of Egypt. It has been suggested that the obelisks of the Mausoleum were erected at the same occasion.[239]

The content of the inscription suggests that the role of the obelisks, as that of the child hostages in the triumph, was twofold. On the one hand, the obelisks were trophies from the conquered province of Egypt; on the other hand, they were religious symbols dedicated to Sol, the indigenous Italic sun god. This re-dedication of the obelisks to Sol, worshipped at Rome at least since the 4th century BC, has been seen as part of Augustus' policy of religious restoration, but at the same time, it is clear that the re-dedication also underlined the superiority of Roman Sol over Egyptian Amun-Re. Furthermore, the contemporary association between Sol and Apollo, Augustus' patron deity and helper at Actium, constitutes a further ideological significance of the 'Roman' obelisks.[240]

Figure 7

Against this ideological backdrop, it comes as no surprise that Octavian and Agrippa in 28 and 21 BC, respectively, took measures against the performance of the Egyptian cults within the *pomerium*.[241] As argued by Takács these actions were probably directed towards public processions only and not private worship inside temples or homes. It was an attempt to diminish interest in the cult because, as Takács points out, '*Possible danger came not from Egyptian cults but from the fact that their adherents congregated in association.*'[242] As potential breeding grounds for civic unrest, such *collegia* were regarded with suspicion and as a threat to Augustan rule.[243]

Finally, it is important to note that egyptianising motifs, e.g., *situlae*, *uraei*, lotus-flowers, *atef*-crowns, pyramids and Nilotic landscapes, remain popular in contemporary wall

[239] The Mausoleum was (partially?) completed in 28 BC and although scholars generally favour an Augustan date for the commission of the obelisks, it is uncertain when they reached Rome. The obelisks are mentioned neither in Strabo's description of the Mausoleum (5.3.8) nor in Pliny's survey of the Roman obelisks (36.14.70-74); see Boschung 1980, 39; Buchner 1996, 161-168; 2000, 182-183; Davies 2004, 13-19; see also the evidence given in Amm. Marc. 17.4.16.
[240] For the association between Sol (*Indiges*), Apollo, Augustus and the obelisks, see Halsberghe 1972, 29-30; moreover Zanker 1990, 48-53; Schneider 2004, 164; Rehak 2006, 93-94; for the relationship between Sol and the Circus Maximus, see Humphrey 1986, 91-95; on the cult of Sol in Rome, see Matern 2002, 20-46. For the Sabine origin of Sol and the association with Greek Apollo, see Varro, *Ling.* 5.68; on the praise of Apollo-Sol in contemporary poetry, see, e.g., Verg. *Ecl.* 4; Hor. *Carm. saec.* In 17 BC, Augustus reinstituted the *Ludi Saeculares*, marking the beginning of a new *saeculum.* The new golden age, the *aurea aetas*, was to be presided over by Sol-Apollo-(Augustus); see Zanker 1990, 167-172; Beard et al. 1998, 201-206. On religion in the Augustan period; see Galinsky 1996, 288-331; Scheid 2005, 175-196.
[241] Dio Cass. 53.2.4; 54.6.6.
[242] Takács 1995, 77.
[243] On the bans of Octavian and Agrippa, including the senatorial actions against the Egyptian cults in the 50s and 40s BC; see Coarelli 1984, 472-475; Takács 1995, 56-70, see also Lembke 1994, 65-67, for the possible implications of the Augustan bans for the construction of the Iseum Campense.

painting, mosaics, reliefs and funerary architecture.[244] The use of these motifs are variously interpreted as expressions of '*egyptomania*', a fascination for all things Egyptian, or ideology, i.e., as symbols of Augustus' Actian victory. Most importantly perhaps these motifs illustrate that in Augustan Rome the conquest of Egypt took different material forms. In post-war Rome, Egypt clearly assumed the role of the defeated enemy, at the same time, however, Augustus claimed a policy of reconciliation and peace, which, as mentioned above, among other things included the adoption of the children of Mark Antony and Cleopatra. Thus, the policy of Augustus contained elements of both victory and integration, defeated Egypt was now part of the Roman empire.[245] The prestigious victory at Actium and the subsequent annexation of Egypt were crucial to Augustan ideology and the formation of imperial rule. As we will see, the monumentality of Egypt's material culture, its rich natural resources (corn, papyrus, stones) and its key location in the eastern Mediterranean remained important for future emperors too.[246]

The Flavian present

According to Suetonius, the *gens Flavia* found the empire '*[…] drifting uneasily through a year of revolution in the course of which three successive emperors lost their lives by violence […].*'[247] In this passage, Suetonius is referring to the year AD 69 – a year of unrest and civil war, prompted by the suicide of the last Julio-Claudian emperor, Nero, in June AD 68. After the brief reigns of Galba (June AD 68-January AD 69) and Otho (January-April AD 69), the legions of Germania Inferior and Superior proclaimed Vitellius, the governor of Germania Inferior, emperor in mid-April AD 69. Soon, however, the legions of Egypt under the prefect Tiberius Alexander challenged Vitellius' claim to the throne, proclaiming Vespasian emperor instead.

[244] See, e.g., Beyen 1948, 3-21; de Vos 1980, 13-14, no. 6; Bragantini and de Vos 1982; Carettoni 1983, 67-85; Ling 1991, 37-42; Söldner 2000, 383-393; Versluys 2002, 358-359, 367-368; Vout 2003, 177-183, 192-195.
[245] This policy perhaps found its fullest expression in the Ara Pacis Augustae, commissioned by the Senate and dedicated in 9 BC; on the Ara Pacis, see most recently, Pollini 2012, 204-270.
[246]We know from Plin. *HN* 16.201-202, 36.70, 36.74, that Caligula (AD 37-41) moved the obelisk now standing in the Piazza S. Pietro from Alexandria to Rome. According to the original inscription in letters of bronze, Cornelius Gallus, the first prefect of Egypt, dedicated this obelisk at the Forum Julium on Octavian's order in 30 BC. At some point during the reign of Tiberius, the obelisk, still in Alexandria, was reinscribed in incised letters and re-dedicated to *divus* Augustus, son of *divus* Julius and Tiberius, son of *divus* Augustus (*CIL* VI, 882). Like Augustus, Caligula re-erected the obelisk on the spina of a circus, i.e., the *Circus Vaticanus* (*Gai et Neronis*). Caligula is, moreover, usually associated with the re-building of the Iseum Campense, supposedly destroyed in AD 19. On the obelisk of Caligula, see Magi 1963, 50-56; Iversen 1968, 19-46; Alföldy 1990.
[247] Suet. *Vesp.* 1.1.

The proclamation of Vespasian took place on 1 July AD 69, a date Vespasian '*[…] afterwards celebrated as that of his accession […].*'[248] At the time, Vespasian, a successful military commander, was fighting in Judaea together with his eldest son, Titus, to suppress an uprising of the Jews.[249] A few days later, on July 3, Vespasian's own legions in Judaea followed the armies in Egypt, declaring their loyalty to Vespasian. As noted by Levick, this series of events, '*[…] was planned months before, took place on the day agreed, and […] outside the candidate's own province.*'[250] It therefore seems likely, that Vespasian's next step was carefully orchestrated too.

Instead of going to Rome, Vespasian, now legally a usurper without senatorial recognition, sent '*[…] ahead generals with troops to Italy […]*', and while leaving Titus to take care of the revolt in Judaea, '*[…] he crossed to Alexandria, to take possession of the key to Egypt.*'[251] Scholars generally understand this metaphor as Vespasian's need to secure Egypt's grain supply. Indeed, as we saw above, the wealth and strategically important location of Egypt made it an ideal base for a usurper.[252] It seems clear, however, that Vespasian also used his stay in Alexandria to deal with the problem of succession and his legitimacy to power. These were delicate issues fraught with tension and an element of uncertainty for despite Suetonius' assurances that there was '*[…] no cause to be ashamed of the Flavian record*', it is clear that Vespasian's lack of authority (*auctoritas*) and majesty (*maiestas*) was a problem that needed to be solved.[253]

Thus, several measures were taken to enhance the prestige and reputation of Vespasian. Above all, stories of a number of miraculous events were put into circulation. Tacitus records how '*[…] many wonders occurred which seemed to point him* [Vespasian] *out as the object of the favour of heaven and of the partiality of the Gods.*'[254] These wonders included an unusual rising of the Nile, a phenomenon, which according to Cassius Dio '*[…] had taken place only once before*.'[255] Moreover,

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[248] Joseph *BJ* 4.592-604; Tac. *Hist.* 2.79; quotation from Suet. *Vesp.* 6.3.
[249] This revolt is also known as the First Jewish–Roman War (AD 66–70/73 [fall of Masada]), see Levick 1999, 23-42.
[250] Levick 1999, 43-64, quotation from p. 43.
[251] Suet. *Vesp*. 7.1.
[252] On the strategic importance of Egypt and its grain to Vespasian, see Tac. *Hist.* 3.8.2, 3.48.3; Joseph *BJ* 4.605-606; moreover Pfeiffer 2010, 108, 119; 2010a, 277-278, 285. Still, in this period, Africa was a more important source of grain for Rome than Egypt; cf. Joseph *BJ* 2.383, 386. Moreover, the province of Africa and its proconsul, Piso, favoured the Vitellians, cf. Tac. *Hist.* 4.49.1; see also Griffin 2000, 5. Tacitus also reports that Vespasian after the favourable news of the (second) battle of Bedriacum, near Cremona in October AD 69, sent a large supply of grain to Rome to avert a looming famine; Tac. *Hist.* 4.52.2; see also Dio Cass. 65.9.2[a].
[253] Quotation from Suet. *Vesp.* 1.1, see also 7.2. On the emperor's need to be 'accepted' by the people, the army and the Senate, see Flaig 2010, 275-288.
[254] Tac. *Hist.* 4.81.1. For a detailed analysis of these wonders and their importance for the legitimacy of Vespasian, see Scott 1934, 138-140; 1936, 9-13; Engster 2010, 289-307; for a useful overview of the literary sources, see Pfeiffer 2010, 112-113; 2010a, 275-276.
[255] Dio Cass. 65.8.1.

Vespasian during a visit to the Temple of Serapis experienced a vision in which one of his freedman, Basilides, appeared before him, and offered him symbols of kingship, though Basilides at the time was far away.[256] Finally, two men - sent to him by Serapis - confronted Vespasian, convinced of his divine power and ability to work miracles. After some hesitation, Vespasian ventured his luck and miraculously healed the men: a blind and another who was lame. Slightly different versions of this story are found in Tacitus, Suetonius, Cassius Dio and Philostratus, who all gave these Egyptian events special attention because they provided Vespasian (and the *gens Flavia*) with legitimacy and right to power.[257] Indeed, Tacitus emphasises that, in his day, eyewitnesses actually present attested both facts '*[…] even now when nothing is to be gained by falsehood.*'[258]

How should we understand the stories of these miraculous events – why were they put into circulation? It is clear that Egypt and the miraculous events in Alexandria played an important role in Vespasian's quest for legitimacy and acceptance. From the outset, this legitimacy not only involved Vespasian but also his two sons.[259] This 'dynastic trinity' remained important throughout Flavian rule even after the death of Vespasian and Titus. Thus, as we will see below, Domitian made his kinship to the '*divi Flavii*' a centrepiece of his imperial building programme. In this context, it should be mentioned that Domitian during the civil war was fighting the Vitellians in Rome together with his uncle, Flavius Sabinus, the *praefectus urbi* in AD 69. In December, Sabinus and his supporters, including Domitian, found themselves besieged on the Capitol, and while Domitian managed to escape disguised as a devotee of Isis, Sabinus was killed. A few days later, however, Vespasian's forces took Rome.[260]

Vespasian himself stayed in Egypt until late summer AD 70 when he sat off for Rome in a triumph-like procession. The contemporary historian, Josephus, vividly describes how '*[…] those of higher rank […] hastened to a great distance from Rome to be the first to greet him*', and how as Vespasian approached Rome, '*[…] the whole remaining population, with wives and children, were by now waiting at the road-sides to receive him […] hailing him as 'benefactor*', '*saviour*', *and 'only*

[256] Tac. *Hist.* 4.82.1-2; according to Suet. *Vesp.* 7.1, the gifts presented to Vespasian consisted of sacred leaves, chaplets, and cakes; on the symbolic meaning of this event, see Pfeiffer 2010, 116-118.
[257] Tac. *Hist.* 4.81-82; Suet. *Vesp.* 7; Dio Cass. 65.8.1-2; Philostr. *V A* 5.27; see also Malaise 1972a, 407-413.
[258] Tac. *Hist.* 4.81.3.
[259] On the prominence of Titus and Domitian in the early coinage of Vespasian, see Carradice 2012, 384.
[260] Tac. *Hist.* 3.74.1 '*[…] he was dressed in a linen robe and so was able to join the crowd of devotees […]*'; Suet. *Dom.* 1.2 '*[…] disguised in the garb of a follower of Isis […]*'. The priests of Isis, and sometimes the worshippers, were known to wear linen garments; cf. Hdt. 2.37.2, 81.1; Plut. *Mor. De Is. et Os.* 352D. The role of Isis in this escape is, however, a matter of dispute. According to Tacitus, Domitian, as a token of gratitude, built a small chapel to Jupiter 'Conservator' (the Preserver) – not Isis – on the Capitoline Hill. Upon his accession in AD 81, Domitian replaced the chapel with a great temple to Jupiter 'Custos' (the Guardian); see Malaise 1972, 186; 1972a, 414-417; Wiseman 1978, 172-175; Jones 2002, 14-18, 100-101; Pfeiffer 2010, 124-125, 131; 2010a, 280-281.

worthy emperor of Rome."[261] Josephus does not explicitly mention Domitian or Beneventum, but, according to Cassius Dio, Domitian at this occasion left Rome to greet his father at Beneventum.[262] This dynastic meeting situates Beneventum as an important Flavian *lieu de mémoire* and it seems reasonable to suggest that it was the reminiscences of this meeting, which influenced Domitian's later religious dispositions within the city.

Like his father, Titus, hailed as Imperator for his suppression of the Judaean revolt and the destruction of the Jerusalem temple in August-September AD 70, went to Egypt before returning to Rome. He landed at Alexandria in April AD 71, and during his stay in Egypt, he attended the consecration of a new Apis bull at Memphis. According to Suetonius, Titus by wearing a diadem at the ceremony gave rise to the rumour that he was thinking of rebellion.[263] The rumour, probably generated by Memphis' traditional status as coronation city, proved false and back in Rome, Titus and Vespasian celebrated a joint triumph in June AD 71. We know from Josephus that the triumphators spent the night before the triumph in the Iseum Campense.[264] As we will see, this unusual choice was probably a token of gratitude to Isis and Serapis, who as divine protectors of the *gens Flavia* played important roles in Vespasian's miraculous healings in Alexandria and in the successful outcome of the Judaean war.[265]

Ideologically, the rise and legitimacy of the *gens Flavia* was closely associated with Egypt and Judaea. As noted by Beard, the Judaean triumph in many ways marked '*[…] the inaugural moment of the new dynasty […]*'.[266] While Judaea provided the *gens Flavia* with the necessary military *virtus*, the events in Egypt supplied the Flavians with the equally needed mythical – quasi divine – reputation. The association with Augustus, the founder of the first imperial dynasty, constituted another important legitimising factor in Flavian ideology. Vespasian, like Augustus, restored peace after a period of civil war and, like Augustus, he initiated a major programme of building and restoration, transforming the urban fabric of Rome.[267] Likewise, Egypt, albeit in different ways, played a central role in the formation of both dynasties.

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[261] Joseph *BJ* 7.68-71.
[262] Dio Cass. 65.9.3.
[263] Suet. *Tit.* 5.3; see also Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984, 1943; Thompson 1988, 273; Pfeiffer 2010, 119-121; 2010a, 278-280; it has been suggested by Lembke 1994, 92, that Titus in Egypt and during the consecration of the Apis bull acted as the representative of Vespasian.
[264] Joseph *BJ* 7.123.
[265] Malaise 1972a, 416-417; Scheid 2009, 181-182.
[266] Beard 2003, 548.
[267] On Vespasian's relationship to the Julio-Claudians (especially Augustus and Claudius), see Hurlet 1993, 261-280; Levick 1999, 70-74; Boyle 2003, 4-5; on the closing of the Temple of Janus, see Oros. 7.3.7-8, 7.9.8-9, 7.19.4 (Vespasian) and for Augustus' closure: *RGDA* 13; Suet. *Aug.* 22; Dio Cass. 51.20.4-5. On the Templum Pacis and the centrality of *pax* in Flavian ideology, see Noreña 2003, 25-43; on the connection between the Ara Pacis Augustae and

Figure 8

In Flavian ideology Judaea, not Egypt, represented the defeated enemy. Still, the series of coins issued in AD 71 by Vespasian and again during the reigns of Titus and Domitian with the legend '*Judaea Capta*' is closely modelled on the '*Aegypto Capta*' type of Augustus. The reverse of the *Judaea Capta* type, struck in different varieties, shows a personification of Judaea, seated right on a cuirass in an attitude of mourning under a palm tree with a captive bearded male standing to the left of the palm tree, hands bound behind his back. (Fig. 8) On some of the coins, the palm tree is replaced by a trophy and the standing captive by a figure of the victorious 'Imperator' with his foot on a helmet, holding a spear in his right hand and a raised *parazonium* (short sword) in his left.[268] Likewise, the victory in Judaea was commemorated by the erection of triumphal arches, the Colosseum, built *ex manubi(i)s* (from the spoils of war), and the Templum Pacis, celebrating the *pax* gained by military victories.[269] Moreover, Josephus describes how, on the day of the triumph, the spoils taken from the Temple in Jerusalem (the table of the shewbread, the seven-branched lampstand, a copy of the Jewish Law and the silver trumpets) were carried in procession through Rome, as depicted on the spoils relief in the archway of the Arch of Titus on the Velia.[270] (Fig. 9)

From a material point of view, the Judaean spoils as displayed in the triumph and later in the Templum Pacis functioned as tangible 'proof' of the Flavian victory in Judaea. Likewise, the Flavian *aegyptiaca*, including Vespasian and Titus' stay in the Iseum, celebrated the divine patronage of Serapis and Isis and transformed the prosperous and miraculous events in Egypt into Roman

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the Templum Pacis, see Castagnoli 1981, 271-272. On the Flavian building and restoration programme, see Darwall-Smith 1996; moreover, Appendix C below.

[268] For a recent overview of Flavian coinage, see Carradice 2012, 375-390; on the *Judaea Capta* type, see Kraay 1978, 47-57. The motif of the palm tree and defeated '*Judaea*' also decorate the breastplate of an over life-size cuirassed statue of Vespasian or Titus found in the exedra of the basilica in the Forum of Sabratha; Sabratha, Museum of Antiquities, inv. 659, H. 2.02 m., see Stemmer 1978, 62, V 10, Pl. 38, 1-2.

[269] On the arches voted to Vespasian and Titus, see Dio Cass. 65.7.2. Three arches are usually associated with the Flavians: the 'Arco di Camilliano' in the Campus Martius (AD 70/71 (?); see Appendix F below), the Arch of Titus in the Circus Maximus (AD 81; *CIL* VI[1], 944), and the Arch of Titus on the Velia (erected or completed during the reign of Domitian). Other Flavian arches are known from iconographic sources, see De Maria 1988, 118-123; Kleiner 1990, 127-136. On the Flavian victory monuments in Rome, see Alföldy 1995, 195-226; Noreña 2003, 25-43; Millar 2005, 101-128.

[270] Joseph 7.148-150. Josephus does not mention the silver trumpets, which called the Jews to Rosh Hashanah, but they are shown on the spoils relief on the Arch of Titus; on Josephus and his account of the Triumph, see Beard 2003, 543-558. Note also, that the small frieze below the attic of the Arch of Titus shows a personified river-god (the Jordan?) carried on a *ferculum* during the procession of AD 71.

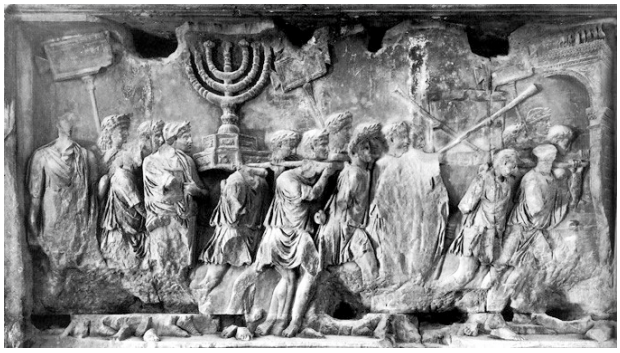

Figure 9

'reality'.[271] Thus, in different ways, depending on different circumstances, defeated Judaea and benevolent Egypt formed part of a larger Flavian discourse of acceptance, legitimacy and empire. After a century of Roman rule, the ideological attitude towards and use of Egypt and things Egyptian had clearly changed.[272]

[271] On the ability of material culture to refer back to past events by way of the viewer's associations, see Haug 2001, 115-116; moreover, Chapter 3, 'The cultural biography and memory of things', above.
[272] On the changed imperial attitude towards Egypt and especially Egyptian religion, see Chapter 1, p. 14, above.

5. The material 'make-up' of the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome

With this historical background in mind, I will now turn from the literary evidence to the evidence of the materials. Thus, this chapter aims to provide an overview of the different materials used in the sculptural and architectural layout of the Flavian *Isea* in Beneventum and Rome. Although often overlooked, materials, i.e., '*[…] the stuff that things are made of […]*',[273] and materiality, i.e., the characteristics of materials, played an important role in the planning and furnishing of a given context. The choice of materials not only reflects a deliberate consideration on behalf of the patron involving economic, cultural and religious issues but also, as argued above, has a great influence on the viewer's experience of a space. Hence, the form, subject matter, and material of a sculpture interact with the materials of the architectural frame and constitute a coherent context.[274]

In the case of the Flavian *Isea*, the form and sensuous impact of the materials used was particularly pronounced in the juxtaposition of Egyptian and Graeco-Roman sculptural and architectural motifs. However, except in terms of establishing the questionable dichotomy between the 'black' Egyptian and the 'white' Graeco-Roman sculptures of the *Isea*, the importance of this stylistic and material 'interplay' has been largely ignored in previous research. This dichotomy, however, is difficult to maintain when considering that most white marble statuary was painted.[275] Moreover, as we will see below and in Chapters 6 and 7, the current ratio between the 'black' and the 'white' materials is likely to be flawed.

The incomplete and fragmentary nature of our knowledge of the architectural and sculptural layout of the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome leaves many questions regarding their material 'make-up' unanswered. Different factors such as the chances of preservation, the fortuitous description of early discoveries and the incomplete publication of the most recent finds influence the

[273] Ingold 2007, 1.
[274] Goffman 1974, 8, 11; Miller 2010, 49-54; moreover Hölscher 2004, 58-85; and Chapter 3, 'The cultural biography and memory of things', above. That the material of a statue was something to which the viewer would pay attention is suggested by the evidence provided by, e.g., Paus. 1.18.6; Plut. *Mor. De Pyth, or.* 395B (set in the sanctuaries of Olympia [Thasian and Egyptian stones, bronze] and Delphi respectively [bronze]).
[275] For polychromy and the relationship between 'colour' and 'material', see Bradley 2006, 1-22; 2009, 427-457; for the Egyptian evidence, see Reuterswärd 1958, vol. 1; moreover, the papers in Brinkmann and Wünsche 2004; Brinkmann et al. 2010; and the preliminary reports of the Tracking Colour project at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, available at: http://www.trackingcolour.com/. Although no traces of colour have survived on the sculptures and architectural elements of the *Isea*, it seems fairly certain that both the 'black' Egyptian and the 'white' Graeco-Roman objects would have been partly or, more rarely, fully painted. Thus, in 1642, Cassiano dal Pozzo describes how a number of marble slabs carved with egyptianising figures and hieroglyphs '*[…]quali in qualche parte ancora si vedevano dipinte […]*' were discovered in the Dominican monastery of the Minerva, see Lanciani 1883a, 44.

assessment of the various materials used in the *Isea*.[276] Despite these innate shortcomings, it is nevertheless my hypothesis that a general survey of the materials will provide new insights into the wider ideological significance of the Flavian *Isea*. From an ideological point of view, the visual interplay between the styles, materials and 'colours' of the sanctuaries not only reflected the role of 'Egypt' in Flavian policy but also, more generally, the Roman appropriation of Egypt and things Egyptian.

Chronologically the sculptures and architectural remains of the *Isea* range over a considerable time span of more than two millennia from the 12th – 13th dynasties BC of the Middle Kingdom to the 2nd – 3rd centuries AD. Generally, the Egyptian objects, i.e., objects dated to the Pharaonic and Ptolemaic periods, are made of stones quarried in Egypt whereas the egyptianising and Graeco-Roman objects reflect the fact that the Romans had access to and exploited white and polychrome stones quarried at a number of Mediterranean sources – including Egypt. In the following survey of the various stones, I therefore distinguish between two main categories: stones of non-Egyptian origin and stones of Egyptian origin.

During the imperial period, the quarrying and use of marbles were closely connected to the person of the emperor. In a famous passage, Suetonius says that Augustus '*[…] found it* [the city of Rome] *built of brick and left it in marble.*'[277] Cassius Dio, who quotes Augustus for the same saying, explanatory adds that, '*He* [Augustus] *did not thereby refer literally to the appearance of its buildings, but rather to the strength of the empire.*'[278] Thus, from the very outset of imperial rule the use of marble, particularly the coloured varieties, became a sign not only of imperial power, but also of the wealth and extent of the empire.[279] The control over marble resources was of high significance to Rome and most of the largest quarries, including those of Egypt, came under imperial control during the first half of the first century AD.[280]

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[276] For a short assessment of the stones used in the Iseum of Beneventum, see Müller 1969, 38. For an overview of the discoveries made during the medieval and Renaissance periods in the area of the Iseum Campense, see Lanciani 1883a, 33-60; for the most recent excavations of the '*Insula Domenicana*' (1991-1993), see Alfano 1998, 13-19.

[277] Suet. *Aug.* 28.3. Scholars usually understand this passage as a reference to the opening of the Luna quarries (Carrara) at the end of the Republican period and their intensive exploitation during the reign of Augustus. It has been suggested, however, that the passage also applies to imported coloured marbles, see Fant 1999, 277-280; for the administration of the Luna quarries, see Hirt 2010, 314-318; Russell 2013, 57-59.

[278] Dio Cass. 56.30.3-4.

[279] On the symbolic value of coloured stones in imperial Rome, see Schneider 1986; 2002, 83-105; 2004, 155-179; Belli Pasqua 1995; 2007, 151-158. The increasing demand and fashion for coloured marbles around the time of Augustus is also suggested by a passage in Strabo (9.5.16), where he says that polychrome marbles are so highly valued in Rome that '*[…] it has caused the quarries of white marble to be of little worth.*'

[280] For the organisation and administration of the quarries, quarry labels and distribution, see Ward-Perkins 1992, 23-30; Fant 1993, 145-170; Pensabene 2002, 15-20; Russell 2013, 37-94.

In order to obtain an idea of the comparative cost of the polychrome marbles, I will in the following occasionally refer to Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices from AD 301. The Edict, published in both Greek and Latin, was an attempt to set maximum prices (in denarii) for goods and services throughout the Empire. It is the only detailed ancient source dealing with the cost of stones and in spite of the early 4th century date, it is generally used as an indication of the marble prices throughout the Imperial period.[281]

Name on Edict	Modern name	ж
Πορφυρίτης/Por]fyritici	Porfido rosso [Red Porphyry]	250
Λακεδαιμόνιον/Lac]edaemonii	Serpentino [Green Greek porphyry]	250
Νουμηδικόν/]midici	Giallo antico [Numidian yellow]	200
Λουκούλλιον/Lucul]lei	Africano [Lucullan black/red]	150
Πυρροποικίλον/Pyrrhopoecili	Sienite [Red/pink Aswan granite]	100
Κλαυδιανόν/Claudiani	Granito del Foro [Grey Egyptian granite]	100
Ἀλαβαστρήσιον/Alabastreni	Egyptian alabaster	75
Δοκιμηνόν/Docimeni	Pavonazzetto [Phrygian purple]	200
Εὐθυδημιανόν/Euthudemiani	-	60
Ἀνακαστηνόν/Anacast]eni	-	40
Τριποντικόν/Tripontici	-	75
Θεσσαλόν/Thessalici	Verde antico [Thessalian Green]	150
Καρύστιον/Carusti	Cipollino [Carystian green]	100
Σκυριανόν/Scyriani]	Breccia di Settebassi	40
Ηρακλειωτικόν/Heracleotici	Herakleian marble	75
Λέσβιον/Lesbii	Lesbian marble	50
Θάσιον/Thasii	Thasian marble	50
Προκοννήσιον/Proconnesi	Proconnesian	40
Ποταμογαλληνόν/Potamogalleni	-	40

Table I: Maximum prices in denarii for a number of marbles as listed in the Price Edict (Section 31).

Terminology – ancient and modern

As indicated above, the sculptures (obelisks, statues in the round, altars, and candelabra) and architectural elements (columns, capitals, entablature blocks, and wall reliefs) of the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome are made from a great variety of materials. Throughout the chapter the term 'material' generally covers different kinds of stone although objects in other materials such as bronze and wood are likely to have been used in the sanctuaries too.[282] Only in a few cases have petrographic analyses of the materials been carried out.[283] In general, therefore, I have based my terminology on

[281] Giacchero 1974, vol. 1, 210-211 (c. 31). In the Edict, the marbles are measured per foot, it is, however, unclear whether this is a square or cubic foot, see Corcoran and DeLaine 1994, 263-273; moreover, Russell 2013, 33-36.
[282] For the Vatican pinecone in bronze, see the section on 'Bronze and stones of unknown origin' below and the section on 'Graeco-Roman sculptures' in Chapter 7. Although often not preserved, different semi-precious stones and ivory were used for inlays; see, e.g., the egyptianising statue of Domitian from Beneventum; Müller 1969, 55-56, no. 260.
[283] Petrographic analyses have been carried out on the relief-columns in Rome and Florence and on the female sphinx in a private collection in Memphis, TN; see Bongrani 1992, 67; Lembke 1994, 242, no. E 45. The sphinx has since been sold at Sotheby's New York (December 2010) as part of the collection of the late Clarence Day.

the descriptions given in museum publications, exhibition catalogues and monographs concerned with the sculptural and architectural layout of the *Isea*.[284]

Generally, the scholarly literature dealing with the *Isea* reflects the low priority given to the identification of the materials as well as the lack of a common 'material terminology'. Hence the material of a statue representing a baboon, now in the Vatican, is described as '*marmo bigio*' by one scholar, as '*brown marble*' by another and as '*blau-grauer Basalt*' by a third scholar.[285] The fact that the materials, in most cases, have been identified and classified by archaeologists and not by geologists and mineralogists contributes to this bewildering situation. Moreover, even for the experienced eye, it can be difficult to distinguish between certain stone types.

The modern Italian terminology generally accentuates the colour (e.g., *giallo and verde antico, porfido rosso*) and composition (e.g., *cipollino and pavonazzetto*) of the stones. In contrast, the ancient names often described the geographic origin of the material. Thus, *lapis syenites* referred to the red and black granite of Syene (Aswan), *marmor numidicum* to the yellow marble of Numidia in North Africa and *lapis porphyrites* to the purple porphyry of Mons Porphyrites in the eastern desert of Egypt. Scholars have convincingly argued that by emphasising the place of origin of the stones the Roman elite established not only their personal familiarity with a highly prestigious commodity but also, and more importantly, their place as citizens of an empire.[286] In the present survey, I will refer to the antique name of the stone when known but otherwise use the modern Italian terminology.

Geologically marble is a *metamorphic* rock of crystalline structure, resulting from the metamorphosis of limestone and dolomite under conditions of high temperature and pressure. The Greek word *μάρμαρον* (shining/sparkling stone) and the Latin *marmor*, however, referred to all white and polychrome stones capable of taking a high polish, including hard stones such as granite, porphyry, and greywacke although from a geological point of view they are not marbles because of their *igneous* and/or *sedimentary* formation.[287] Whereas archaeologists tend to use the word 'marble' in the broader Roman sense, geologists maintain that 'marble' is a *metamorphosed* limestone.[288] I

[284] Botti and Romanelli 1951; Müller 1969; Roullet 1972; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990; Lembke 1994; Lollio Barberi et al. 1995; *Iside* 1997; *Cleopatra Roma/BM* 2000/2001; Manera and Mazza 2001; *Egittomania* 2006; *Il culto di Iside a Beneventum* 2007.

[285] Musei Vaticani, MGE, inv. 34; Botti and Romanelli 1951, 114 (Marmo bigio); Roullet 1972, 125, no. 245 (Brown marble); Lembke 1994, 238, no. E 36 (blau-grauer Basalt). According to Lucas and Harris 1962, 61, n.3, the colour of basalt can appear brown 'when the stone is weathered and partly decomposed'; see also Aston et al. 2000, 24.

[286] Schneider 1986, 149-152; Fant 1993, 146-151; Bradley 2006, 5.

[287] Peacock 1994, 362-363; Schneider 1999, 928; Gregarek 1999, 36. The same applies to *bigio morato*, *giallo antico* ('*marmoris Numidici*', cf. Plin. *HN* 5.22), *africano* ('*marmoris Lucullei*', cf. Plin. *HN* 36.49-50) and *lapis alabastrites*, which geologically are not marbles because of their sedimentary origin.

[288] Since the late 1980s, several interdisciplinary studies have appeared trying to reconcile these different scholarly traditions, see, i.e., the various proceedings of the ASMOSIA conferences.

here use the term 'marble' in the Roman/archaeological sense of the word. However, recognising the need for a more nuanced material terminology, I have included information about the geological formation of the stones too.

Stones of non-Egyptian origin

Monochrome white marbles

'Marble'

In 25 cases, the material of the sculptures (7) and architectural remains (18) of the *Isea* is simply described as 'marble' without any further indication of the colour or origin of the material.[289] (Table II) The majority of these objects are made of various unidentified whitish stones.[290] In a few cases (6), the objects are either lost or still *in situ*, rendering the identification of the marble, whether white or coloured, impossible. Marble slabs, antefixes and fragments of entablature blocks carved with egyptianising relief scenes constitute an important part (17) of the architectural objects in 'marble'. We know that egyptianising relief slabs decorated some of the (interior?) walls of the Iseum Campense and it seems likely that the egyptianising reliefs from Beneventum had a similar function.[291] Moreover, as mentioned above, these reliefs were originally painted. Among the sculptures in 'marble', at least one, the *imago clipeata* from Beneventum, is described as being made of local stone.[292]

Location	Inv. no.	Type of object
Benevento, MdS	1891	Frieze (Apis)
Benevento, MdS	1898	Relief
Benevento, MdS	1899	Relief
Benevento, MdS	1900	Relief
Benevento, MdS	1903	Imago clipeata
Benevento, MdS	1908	Apis bull
Benevento, MdS	1928	Kneeling adorant
Benevento, MdS	2167	Fragment of obelisk
Benevento, MdS	without no. [lost]	Relief with pharaoh
Rome	without no. [lost]	Apis bull
Rome	without no. ['in situ']	Colossal foot
Rome	without no. ['in situ']	'Madama Lucrezia'
Rome	without no. [lost]	Column
Rome	without no. [in situ]	Fragment of entablature
Rome	without no. ['in situ', Pantheon]	Fragment of entablature
Vatican, MGE	22860	Antefix
Rome	without no. [lost]	Egyptianising bas-relief

[289] See Table II; moreover, *Il culto di Iside a Beneventum* 2007, nos. 4, 23-25, 29-30, 36; Lembke 1994, 191, no. D 18, 193-195, nos. D 28-30, 198, nos. D 35-36, 219-221, nos. E 6 and E 9, 240, no. E 40; *Cleopatra Roma* 2000, 260, 264-266, nos. IV.41-42, 48-52.
[290] For the problem of correct provenance determination of white marbles used in antiquity, see Herz 2006, 280-306.
[291] Alfano 1998, 192-193, 202-206; see also Chapter 7, 'The architectural remains', below.
[292] Savignoni 1904, 131.

Location	Inv. no.	Type of object
Rome	without no. [lost]	Fragments of egyptianising reliefs
Rome, Deposito San Macuto	without nos.	Five egyptianising reliefs
Rome, Deposito San Macuto	without nos.	Two antefixes

Table II: Objects in 'marble' (25).

Lychnites, Pentelicum, Lunense

The material of 14 Graeco-Roman sculptures is described as 'Greek marble'. This term, although geographically more specific than just 'marble', covers a whole range of white and coloured marbles of Greek origin. In the case of the *Isea*, Greek marble describes sculptures in white stones. In eight cases, the marble of the sculptures has tentatively been identified as Parian (5) and Pentelic (3) respectively.[293] (Table III)

Parian marble or *lychnites* is a fine-grained, translucent, pure-white marble of the highest quality quarried on the island of Paros. It was the most highly prized for statuary and imperial quarry inscriptions on Parian marble blocks attest that it was a marble under imperial control.[294] Pliny says that the name '*lychnites*' refers to the conditions under which the marble was quarried, i.e., '*[…] by the light of oil lamps'*.[295] It is, however, likely that the name also referred to the luminous quality of the surface of this marble.[296] Pentelic marble or *marmor pentelicum*[297] comes from the quarries of Mount Pentelikon in northern Attica. Pentelic marble is a pure white, fine-grained and translucent marble sometimes with a faint yellow tint variously used for architecture, statuary and sarcophagi.[298]

Location	Inv. no.	Type of object and material
Benevento, MdS	1917	Isis Pelagia [Parian]
Benevento, MdS	1934	Minerva [Parian]
Benevento, MdS	1936	Colossal acrolith [Parian]
Benevento, MdS	1932	Girl in short chiton [Greek]
Benevento, MdS	1937	Togatus [Greek]
Vatican	2300	Nile ['grosskörniger gelblicher Marmor' /Pentelic?]
Paris, Louvre	593	Tiber [Pentelic]
Napoli, MAN	5976	Oceanus Cesarini [Greek]
Napoli, MAN	5977	Oceanus Fabii [Greek]
Rome, MC	1526	Altar [Greek]

[293] See Table III; moreover, *Il culto di Iside a Beneventum* 2007, no. 12; Savignoni 1904, 128-131; Lembke 1994, 214-220, nos. E 1-4 and 7-8, 245, no. 49, 249-251, nos. 58-59. For the material of the Tiber, see Fröhner 1869, 414. Despite minor stylistic differences, the Nile and the Tiber were a paired composition and it seems reasonable to suggest that they were executed in the same type of material. Both statues have undergone modern restorations where other types of non-Greek marble were used.

[294] Fant 1993, 160-162, 165; Hirt 2010, 313, 442-444. For the question of imperial, municipal or private ownership and the role of private contractors see Ward-Perkins 1992, 24; Hirt 2010, 84-93; Russell 2013, 38-94.

[295] Plin. *HN* 36.14

[296] For literary references using Parian marble as a metaphor for 'light', 'knowledge', 'purity' and other notions characteristic of the Augustan Golden Age see, Bradley 2006, 10.

[297] Cic. *Att*. 1.8.2 mentions '*[…] Hermae tui Pentelici cum capitibus aeneis […]*', i.e., 'Herms of Pentelic marble with bronze heads'.

[298] Pike 1999, 165; Schneider 1999, 928-929; for possible ownership, Hirt 2010, 89, n. 195.

Location	Inv. no.	Type of object and material
Rome, MC	759	Candelabrum [Greek / Pentelic?]
Rome, MC	1304	Candelabrum [Parian / Luna?]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Drapery [Greek]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Hand [Parian]

Table III: Objects in Greek marble, Lychnites and Pentelicum (14).

As mentioned above, the identification of and distinction between the marbles can be very difficult even for the trained eye. To illustrate this problem and to mark the transition between the Greek and the Italian white marbles, I will briefly mention the fragment of a triangular candelabrum base discovered by Lanciani in 1883 in the Via del Beato Angelico. Lanciani himself recognised the white marble of the base, now in the Musei Capitolini, as Italian Carrara marble. Other scholars, however, identify the material as Greek marble of Parian origin.[299] Hence, as argued above, there is an urgent need to pay closer attention to the identification of the materials used in the *Isea*.

A few years earlier, in the 1850s, a number of egyptianising columns and especially capitals in white, probably Carrara, marble were discovered in the same street, i.e., during the renovation of the houses of Augusto Silvestrelli (no. 19-21) and Pietro Tranquilli (no. 23) in the Via del Beato Angelico. In 1853, a Roman imitation of an open Egyptian papyrus capital (ø 0.84 m) with stylised palmette leaves arranged in three rows and the lower part of a papyrus column were found in the *casa Silvestrelli*.[300] In 1856, a similar although larger and less stylised papyrus capital (ø 1.15 m) was found together with an egyptianising relief-column in the *casa Tranquilli*.[301] (Fig. 10) According to Lanciani, five additional papyrus capitals of the same style and size as the capital found in 1856 were discovered in the house of A. Silvestrelli in 1859.[302] (Table IV) The different sizes of the columns and capitals suggest that they belonged to two different architectural orders. Moreover, based on the stylistic differences, it has been suggested that they represent a Domitianic (the larger capitals) and a Severan (the smaller capitals) restoration

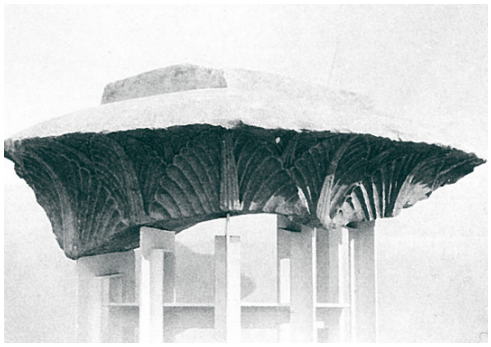

Figure 10

[299] Lanciani 1883, 244; Lanciani (1883) in Cubberley 1988, 144; Jones 1926, 238, no. 40, pl. 93 (Parian marble); Lembke 1994, 250-251, no. E 59 (white Luna (?) marble); see also the section on 'The Graeco-Roman sculptures' of the Iseum Campense below.

[300] Canina 1852, 348, Tav. V; Lembke 1994, 191-192, nos. D 19 (Musei Vaticani, MGE, inv. 68), 21 (Musei Vaticani, MGE, inv. 77).

[301] Henzen 1856, 180; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 52, no. 11 (MC, inv. 25), 59-70, no. 12 (MC, inv. 13); Lembke 1994, 187, no. D 4, 192-193, no. D 22; *Cleopatra Roma* 2000, no. IV.37.

[302] Lanciani 1897, 502; Lanciani (1883) in Cubberley 1988, 135; Roullet 1972, 57, nos. 10-14; Malaise 1978, 645, no. 357a; Lembke 1994, 193, nos. D 23-27 (erroneously indicating the find spot as the *casa Tranquilli*).

of the Iseum Campense respectively.[303] As already mentioned, the material of these egyptianising columns and capitals is usually identified as Carrara marble. Carrara marble or *marmor lunense*[304] is a very fine-grained milky white marble quarried near the modern city of Carrara in the region of Tuscany in Italy.[305]

Location	Inv. no.	Type of object
Vatican, MGE	68	Lower part of papyrus column
Vatican, MGE	77	Papyrus capital
Rome, MC	25	Fragment of papyrus capital
Vatican (?)	without nos. [lost]	(Fragments?) of five papyrus capitals

Table IV: Objects in Carrara (Luna) marble (8).

Polychrome marbles

Grey Elba granite

The matching size of the papyrus capital and the egyptianising relief-column found in the Via del Beato Angelico in 1856 makes it likely that this (larger) type of capital originally belonged to the egyptianising reliefs-columns. (Fig. 11) Since 1642, at least four relief-columns have been found within the area of the Iseum Campense.[306] Each column depicts eight priests in high relief, standing in pairs of two, facing each other. They carry different religious symbols in their (veiled) hands and appear to be taking part in a procession or some kind of religious stand. The original location of the columns within the sanctuary is unclear.[307] Petrographic analyses have shown that these columns were made of grey granite from the island of Elba. The Romans extracted this granite in the western part of the island around Monte Capanne.[308] Although, granite can be characterised as a marble in the broad Roman sense of the word, it is geologically a different type of stone because of its igneous composition. The interplay between the egyptianising

Figure 11

[303] Lembke 1994, 69-70, 71-72; this dating is, however, disputed, see Ensoli 1998, 419-421.
[304] Plin. *HN* 36.14, 36.48.
[305] *Marmi colorati*, 280. Besides the white marble, the Romans also extracted a bluish-grey marble called 'bardiglio' at Carrara. For the organisation and administration of this quarry, see Hirt 2010, 314-318.
[306] In addition to these four, two further columns in granite, now lost, are usually counted among the relief-columns; see Table V; moreover Lembke 1994, 22-23, 42-48, 186-189, nos. E 3-8.
[307] For the various hypotheses concerning the location of the relief-columns, see Chapter 7, 'The Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures', below.
[308] Bongrani 1992, 67-73; see also *Marmi colorati*, 283; *Marmi antichi*, 221.

iconography and the Italian material of these columns constitute an important source of information for the Roman appropriation of Egypt and things Egyptian.

Marmor Carystium, Numidicum, Luculleum, and Phrygium

Only in a few cases, have objects in polychrome marbles with a non-Egyptian origin been identified.[309] These include fragments of columns in Cipollino (*marmor carystium*),[310] Giallo antico (*marmor numidicum*),[311] Africano (*marmor lucullaeum*),[312] and two statues in Pavonazzetto (*marmor phrygium*).[313] (Table V)

Cipollino has a light green or whitish colour with dark green sometimes almost bluish veins. The stone is geologically of *metamorphic* origin. Its modern name, Cipollino or 'little onion' reflects the composition of the stone. It was quarried near Karystos on Euboea in Greece. Giallo antico has a yellow colour alternating between intense and almost white shades with varying dark yellow, reddish or brown veins. The stone is geologically of *sedimentary* origin. It was quarried at Simitthus near Chemtou in Tunisia. Africano has a dark, in general black, background with various seized clasts of red, beige, white, and grey. The stone is geologically of *sedimentary* origin. This marble was quarried at Sigacik near ancient Teos, south-west of Izmir in Turkey.[314]

Cipollino, Giallo antico, and Africano were among the first polychrome marbles imported to Rome during the first century BC. The Romans highly appreciated these stones and requested them for columns, veneer, and *opus sectile* throughout antiquity. Cipollino marble was widely distributed across the Roman empire. In contrast, Giallo antico and Africano were more limited in their distribution and primarily centred on Italy.[315] The general availability and prices of the stones is likely to have affected their distribution. In Diocletian's Price Edict, Cipollino, Giallo

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[309] Note, however, the numerous fragments of polychrome marbles, including *rosso e giallo antico*, *africano*, *bigio*, *pavonazzetto* and *portasanta* (from Chios), found in the Iseum Campense in 1991-1993 and briefly mentioned by Alfano 1998, 190, 201. For the numerous column-drums in *cipollino*, red granite, *granito bigio*, alabaster and peach-coloured breccias found in Beneventum in 1903, see Meomartini 1904, 110.
[310] Strabo 10.1.6; Plin. *HN* 36.48.
[311] Plin. *HN* 5.22, 36.49.
[312] Plin. *HN* 36.6 and 36.49-50. '*Luculleum' is named after the consul Lucius Licinius Lucullus who was the first to introduce this type of marble in Rome*'.
[313] In the poem, 'Riches are useless', Tibullus refers to 'a house propped up on Phrygian pillars' ('*quidve domus prodest Phrygiis innixa columnis*'); Tib. 3.3.13. Julian. *Mis*. 7.341b also uses the term Phrygian (*Φρύγιον λίθον*) while Strabo 12.8.14 calls this marble 'Synnadicum' or 'Docimenium'; see also Gnoli 1971, 142-144.
[314] *Marmi antichi*, 202-203; *Marmi colorati*, 243-244, 250-251, 257-258; for the organisation and administration of these quarries, see Hirt 2010, 304-307, 310-312. On the symbolic use of giallo antico for representations of defeated foreign enemies (and lions), see Schneider 1986, 139-160; 2002, 84-88, 100-102; moreover, *Marmi colorati*, 333-340, 423-436; Bradley 2006, 12-16, Gregarek 1999, 103-104, 268-269, nos. H 25, H 27 and H 33.
[315] *Marmi colorati*, 243-244, 250-251, 257-258; for the question of availability and columns as imperial gifts, Fant 1993, 155-157, 160.

antico and Africano all range among the more expensive marbles, however, cipollino was with a price of 100 denarii per foot the cheapest of the three. (Table I)

Two statues of kneeling worshippers from the Iseum at Beneventum are made of pavonazzetto. The modern name pavonazzetto is formed from the Italian 'pavonazzo' (purple) derived from 'pavone', meaning peacock. Pavonazzetto has a white almost transparent background with purple, or dark purple veins and clasts. The stone is geologically of *metamorphic* origin. It was quarried at Docimium (modern Iscehisar) in the province of Afyon, ancient Phrygia.[316] The exploitation of the quarries probably began during the late Republican period; however, systematic use of the stone did not take place until the reign of Augustus.[317]

Strabo notes that the Romans called this stone 'Synnadic' after the town of Synnada, however, '*[…] the natives call it 'Docimite' or 'Docimaean' […]*', after the village of Docimium, closer to the quarries. Strabo further explains that '*[…] although the transportation of such heavy burdens to the sea is difficult, still, both pillars and slabs, remarkable for their size and beauty, are conveyed to Rome.*'[318] Despite the considerable time span between Strabo's description and the Price Edict of Diocletian these logistic challenges might explain why Docimium marble ranges among the most expensive marbles mentioned in the Edict with a cost of 200 denarii per foot.

Neri Antichi – antique blacks

The material of two sculptures and one column has been identified as '*granito bigio*' or '*marmo bigio*'. The sculptures in question are the already mentioned Vatican baboon from the Iseum Campense and the so-called '*danzatrice*', which probably belonged to the sculptural decoration of the Iseum at Beneventum.[319] (Table V)

The modern term *'marmo bigio'* normally designates different dark-grey to black sometimes almost bluish stones with varying degrees of white and grey veins and markings. Scholars

[316] *Marmi antichi*, 264-265; for the organisation and administration of this quarry, see Hirt 2010, 291-303. Besides pavonazzetto, the Romans also extracted a white marble at Docimium; see Pensabene 2002a, 205-207. For the affinity between material, motif and context as well as the symbolic use of pavonazzetto for representations of defeated enemies and other foreign motifs, e.g., the un-Roman, kneeling posture of the Beneventan adorants, see Schneider 1986, 139-160; 2002, 84-88, 100-102; moreover, *Marmi colorati*, 333-340, 423-436.

[317] Belli Pasqua 1989, 93; *Marmi antichi*, 264-265; De Nuccio 2002, 147-157; Ungaro 2002, 109-121; Schneider 2002, 91. In Pliny's (*HN* 36.102) description of the great buildings of Rome, he mentions '*[…] the Basilica of Paulus, so remarkable for its columns from Phrygia [...]*'.

[318] Strabo 12.8.14.

[319] For the column, previously in the Antiquario Comunale, see Lembke 1994, 18-20, 191, no D 17; for the baboon, Musei Vaticani, MGE, inv. 34, see Botti and Romanelli 1951, 114 and Chapter 3, 'The Roman *aegyptiaca* – who made them?', above; for the 'danzatrice', MdS inv. no. 493, see Rotili 1967, 11 and Chapter 6, 'The Graeco-Roman sculptures', below.

use the epithets '*morato*' and '*antico*' to distinguish between them.[320] Geologically the *bigi morati* ('stones with the colour of a negro's skin') are limestones of *sedimentary* origin while the *bigi antichi* ('antique greys') are marbles of *metamorphic* origin.[321] The *bigi morati* were extracted from various quarries located in Italy, Greece, Tunisia, and Turkey.[322] Quarries of *bigi antichi* are attested on more Aegean islands and along the coast of Asia Minor.[323]

Strabo and Pliny both mention the black '*lapis taenarius*', most likely a *bigio antico*, from Cape Tainaron on the Peloponnese as very costly and esteemed.[324] Dark stones were particularly favoured for idealising sculptures as well as for different architectural elements such as *opus sectile* flooring, wall facing, and columns. Because of their better workability, the *bigi antichi* (marbles) were preferred for statuary while the *bigi morati* (limestones), which tend to split irregularly, were used for architectural elements.[325]

Based on this functional distinction, it seems reasonable to suggest that the '*bigi*' of the Vatican baboon and the Beneventan *danzatrice* are '*antichi*' and the '*bigio*' of the column a '*morato*'. However, as noted above, secure identification of the rock type as well as its geographic origin would require petrographic analyses. Although questions of origin played an important role at least within certain élite circles, a further concern must have been the intimate and suitable relationship between a sculpture's material, motif, and context.

As we have seen above, the egyptianising relief-columns and the kneeling adorants may illustrate such a cohesion between material and iconography. Likewise, the choice of a dark marble for the statue of the Vatican baboon and the Beneventan *danzatrice* suggests a similar affinity between material, motif and context. That is, of course, if we accept the identification of the *danzatrice* with

[320] In the scholarly literature, two additional terms, '*nero antico*' and '*lapis niger*', designate affiliated black stone types. *Nero antico* is used more or less interchangeably with *bigio morato*; see, e.g., *Marmi colorati*, 244, 265; Fejfer 2008, 170; Brilli et al. 2010, 1. Sometimes, however, *nero antico* is treated separately from the *marmi bigi* distinguished by a more uniform dark grey to black colour; *Marmi antichi*, 254-255; Candilio 1989, 85. '*Lapis niger*' simply refers to black stones, the best know example being the *lapis niger* over the tomb (or shrine) of Romulus in the Forum Romanum; see *Marmi colorati*, 244; Brilli et al. 2010, 2.
[321] Lazzarini 2013, 141.
[322] *Marmi antichi*, 160; *Marmi colorati*, 244, 265; Brilli et al. 2010, 2.
[323] *Marmi antichi*, 158; *Marmi colorati*, 265; Brilli et al. 2010, 2. For a recently discovered quarry of *bigio antico* in Greece (Aghios Petros, Tripolis, Peloponnesus), see Lazzarini 2013, 147-149.
[324] Plin. *HN* 36.135 (Taenarius [Cape Tainaron, Greece]), 36.158 (Taenarius); Strabo 8.5.7 (the very costly Taenarian marble); see also Bradley 2006, 5. Another black stone, known as *Alabandicus*, was quarried near Alabanda in Asia Minor, cf. Plin. *HN* 36.62.
[325] Brilli et al. 2010, 2; Lazzarini 2013, 141-142. In previous literature, much statuary was erroneously considered to have been made in *bigio morati* and architectural elements in *bigio antico*; see Cioffarelli 1989, 65-66; Ward-Perkins 1992, 158; *Marmi antichi* 158-160; Gregarek 1999, 37-38.

Isis-Fortuna and its context as the Beneventan Iseum.[326] In both cases, the choice of a dark stone of non-Egyptian origin suggests that Roman sculptors at least from the second century AD used the different *bigi* and the dark coloured Egyptian stones interchangeably.[327] Thus, despite the non-Egyptian origin of the *marmi bigi* their dark colour accentuated the Egyptian origin of the sculptures' motifs and contexts. No doubt, sculptors and patrons also took into account the easier availability and working of the '*bigi antichi*' when compared to the hard Egyptian stones.[328]

Location	Inv. no.	Type of object and material
Rome, MC	0002	Column with Egyptianising reliefs [Elba granite]
Rome, MC	0012	Column with Egyptianising reliefs [Elba granite]
Rome, MC	0013	Column with Egyptianising reliefs [Elba granite]
Florence, MAN	without no.	Column with Egyptianising reliefs [Elba granite]
Vatican (?)	without no. [lost]	Column with reliefs [Elba granite?]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Column with reliefs [Elba granite?]
Rome	without nos. [lost]	Fragments of columns [Giallo Antico]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Fragments of column [Cipollino]
Rome, Antiquario Comunale 7657 (?)	without no. [lost]	Fragments of column [Cipollino]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Fragment of column [Africano]
Rome, Antiquario Comunale 7709 (?)	without no. [lost]	Fragment of column [granito/marmo bigio]
Vatican, MGE	34	Squatting baboon [marmo bigio]
Benevento, MdS	493	Danzatrice [granito/marmo bigio]
Benevento, MdS	1923	Kneeling adorant [Pavonazzetto]
Benevento, MdS	1925	Kneeling adorant [Pavonazzetto]

Table V: Objects in grey Elba granite, marmor Carystium, Numidicum, Luculleum, Phrygium, Neri Antichi (15).

Stones of Egyptian origin

Red-coloured Egyptian stones

Objects in two different red-coloured stones are represented in the *Isea*: red/pink granite and purplish-red porphyry. Among the objects in red-coloured stones, sculptures, especially obelisks, sphinxes and lions, form by far the largest group with 33 items, while only three items, a group of wall reliefs, belong to the architectural remains. Of these 36 objects, only one, a *cista mystica*, is made of the purplish-red porphyry; the rest of the objects are carved from red/pink granite. (Table VI)

[326] For the relationship between representations of Isis and the use of black coloured stones, see Chapter 6 and Appendix E2 and E4 below.
[327] Scholars general agree that a systematised exploitation of the '*marmi bigi*' began during the Flavian period and reached a peak during the second century AD. According to Cioffarelli, there may have been a connection between the second century AD increase in the use of black marble/limestone and the seeming simultaneous decline in the use of the various dark Egyptian stones; see Cioffarelli 1989a, 67-71; moreover Gregarek 1999, 37-38, 143; Zevi 2002, 304; Brilli et al. 2010, 2.
[328] Gregarek 1999, 142-143; see also Chapter 3, 'The Roman *aegyptiaca* – who made them?', above.

Monumental red/pink granite

Geologically granite is an *igneous* rock with a phaneritic, i.e., large-grained, texture.[329] Two rock varieties, a coarse and a fine, were extracted. Of these, the coarse variant is by far the most common. Extensive outcrops of this rock are visible at different localities in the area between Aswan and the district of el-Shellal on the eastern bank of the Nile as well as on the opposite islands in the Nile.[330] Red/pink granite was used already in the Early Dynastic period (ca. 3000-2686 BC) and was continuously employed for architectural and decorative elements, such as statuary (in all sizes), sarcophagi and obelisks, throughout Antiquity.[331]

Pliny uses the words *syenites* (stone of Syene) and *lapis thebaicus* (Thebaic stone) to describe the red/pink granite of Aswan. In accordance with Roman practice, these terms emphasise the geographic origin of the stone. However, Pliny adds that the stone '*[…] in earlier times was known as 'pyrrhopoecilos*'.[332] The unusual Greek word πυρρο-ποίκιλος ('red-spotted' or 'flame-coloured') reflects the colour of the stone rather than its geographic origin. As a symbol of the morning and evening sun, the colour red was in Egypt closely associated with the sun god and the solar cycle.[333] Hence, as '*[…] symbolic representation of the sun's rays […]*' the Egyptian obelisks were almost exclusively made of red granite.[334]

The red/pink granite was probably among the first Egyptian stones to reach Rome.[335] As we have seen in Chapter 4 above, Augustus, after the conquest of Egypt, moved at least two and probably four obelisks of red granite from Egypt to Rome. In Rome, Augustus re-dedicated the obelisks to Roman Sol and closely associated the obelisks with important ideological monuments such as the Circus Maximus, the Mausoleum and the solar meridian in the northern Campus Martius. The 'pyrrhopoicili' range among the medium-prized marbles in Diocletian's Edict with a price of 100 denarii per foot. This fact, along with the desirable properties of the stone, i.e., its durability and colour, might explain why the red/pink granite as the only Egyptian stones was widely distributed throughout the empire.[336]

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[329] This basically means that the size of the matrix grains in the rock are large enough to be distinguished with the naked eye. For a detailed petrographic description, see Aston et al. 2000, 35-36; *Marmi antichi*, 225-226; Harrell and Storemyr 2009, 20, Fig. 10, H6 Coarse and Fine granite.
[330] For a geological map of the area, see Aston et al. 2000, 16, fig. 2.3; see also the map in Harrell and Storemyr 2009, 16, fig. 7.
[331] Schneider 1999, 931.
[332] Plin. *HN* 36.63; see also Schneider 2004, 164-165.
[333] Quotation from Plin. *HN* 36.64; see also Habachi and Vogel 2000, 17, 105.
[334] For obelisks in other materials (meta-greywacke and silicified sandstone), known from the New Kingdom, ca. 1550-1069 BC, see *LÄ* IV, cols. 542; Harrell and Storemyr 2009, 17.
[335] *Marmi colorati*, 229.
[336] Fant 1993, 149.

Purplish-red porphyry

Geologically porphyry is a variety of *igneous* rock consisting of phaneritic, i.e., large-grained, crystals dispersed in an aphanitic, i.e., fine-grained, matrix or groundmass. It was quarried at Mons Porphyrites (modern Ǧebel Dokhan) in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, ca. 40 km west of the Red Sea. Three rock varieties distinguishable by their purplish-red, greenish-black and black colour were extracted at Mons Porphyrites. Of these, only the purplish-red porphyry or 'imperial porphyry' is of relevance here.[337]

The quarries at Mons Porphyrites were exploited from the middle of the first to the late fourth century AD.[338] Before this period, porphyry or *lapis porphyrites* (purple stone) was only rarely used.[339] In July AD 18, during the reign of Tiberius, a freedman (?) named Caius Cominius Leugas set up a porphyry stele dedicated to Pan (the god of the Eastern Desert) and Sarapis in commemoration of his discovery (*εὑρίσκω*) of the Mons Porphyrites quarries.[340] The purplish-red porphyry was particularly favoured for sarcophagi, basins and small to colossal, often composite, statues. It was also used for internal wall veneer, pavements, small columns and column drums.[341] The quarries were under imperial control and the use of purplish-red porphyry seems to have been a prerogative of the imperial family. Hence, the use of 'imperial porphyry' became a symbol of nobility, prestige and richness. The *lapis porphyrites* is one of the most costly stones mentioned in Diocletian's Edict with a price of 250 denarii per foot.[342]


Figure 12

The *cista mystica* (sacred box or casket) in purplish-red porphyry from the Iseum at Beneventum has a cover on which a serpent is coiled; the originally raised head of the serpent is missing. A crescent moon decorates the body of the casket.[343] (Fig. 12) The 'sacred casket' was an essential piece of equipment in the Graeco-Roman festivals of Isis. Still, the meaning and content of these caskets remain largely unclear. In the eleventh book of the Metamorphoses, Apuleius describes how one of the priestly participants in the Isis-procession in Kenchreai (Corinth) carries a *cista* '*[…]*

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[337] For a detailed petrographic description, see Aston et al. 2000, 48-50; *Marmi antichi*, 274; *Marmi colorati*, 233-235; Harrell and Storemyr 2009, 21, Fig. 11, H12a.
[338] Schneider 1999, 931; for Pliny's description of the *lapis porphyrites*, see Plin. *HN* 36.57.
[339] Aston et al. 2000, 48-49; *Marmi colorati*, 234.
[340] *SEG* XLV, no. 2097; Hirt 2010, 221-222.
[341] Composite statues; i.e., statues created from different polychrome stones.
[342] Roueché 1989, 299-300 (xxxi); *Marmi colorati*, 234.
[343] Müller 1969, 106-107, no. 289; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 44, no. 17.

holding secret things and concealing within it the hidden attributes of the sublime faith.'[344] Similarly, shaped caskets were used in the cults of Cybele and Attis.

Location	Inv. no.	Type of object
Benevento, MdS	1927	Cista Mystica [red porphyry]
Benevento, MdS	1902	Head of pharaoh (sphinx?) [Red granite]
Benevento, MdS	1910	Sphinx [Red granite]
Benevento, MdS	1911	Lion [Red granite]
Benevento, MdS	1912	Lion [Red granite]
Benevento, MdS	1913	Sphinx [Red granite]
Benevento, MdS	1915	Sphinx [Red granite]
Benevento, MdS	1921	Anterior part of sphinx [Red granite]
Benevento, MdS	1916	Obelisk [Granite with black and red speckles]
Benevento	without no. ['in situ' Piazza Papiniano]	Obelisk [Granite with black and red speckles]
Benevento	without no. ['in situ' Cathedral]	Lion [Red granite]
Benevento	without no. ['in situ' Porta S. Lorenzo]	Apis bull [Red granite]
Benevento	Without no. [lost]	Lion
Rome, Museo Barracco	38	Sphinx [Red granite]
Rome, Museo Barracco	39	Sphinx [Red granite]
Rome	without no. ['in situ' Piazza Navona]	Obeliscus Domitiani [Red granite]
Rome	without no. ['in situ' Termini]	Obeliscus Dogali [Red granite]
Rome	without no. ['in situ' Pantheon]	Obeliscus Macuteo [Red granite]
Rome, Urbino, Vatican, MGE	without no. ['in situ' Villa Celimontana]	Obeliscus Capitolinus [Red granite]
Rome	without no. ['in situ' Piazza della Minerva]	Obeliscus Minerveo [Red granite]
Urbino	without no. ['in situ' Piazza Rinascimento]	Obelisk (block A+C) [Red granite]
Vatican, MGE	25057 and 25058	Fragments of obelisk [Red granite]
Rome	without no. ['in situ' S. Andrea della Valle]	Large fragment of obelisk (?)[Red granite]
Rome	without no. ['in situ' Palazzo Giustiniani]	Small fragment of obelisk (?)[Red granite]
Florence	without no. ['in situ' Giardino di Boboli]	Obeliscus Mediceo [Red granite]
Rome, MNR Palazzo Altemps	52045	Relief [Red granite]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Two relief fragments [Red granite]
Turin, Museo Egizio	17136	Statue base [Red granite]
Turin, Museo Egizio	Suppl. 8	Clepsydra [Red granite]
Rome, MC	33	Sphinx [Red granite]
Rome, MC	24	Crocodile [Red granite]
Rome	without no. ['in situ' Palazzo Barberini]	Egyptianising stele [Red granite]
Florence, MAN	5419	Hathor cow [Red granite]
Dresden, Skulpturensammlung	Aeg. 770/H. 16.	Lion [Red granite/Syenite]
Dresden, Skulpturensammlung	Aeg. 771/H. 17.	Lion [Red granite/Syenite]
Dresden, Skulpturensammlung	Aeg. 772/H. 18.	Lion [Red granite/Syenite]

Table VI: Objects in red-coloured Egyptian stones (36).

Dark-coloured Egyptian stones

The majority of the objects from the *Isea* are made of different dark-coloured Egyptian stones. (Table VII) The group consists entirely of sculptures destined for display in sanctuaries and most of the principal Egyptian statue forms are represented. They comprise standing, sitting, kneeling, squatting and so-called block statues of Egyptian gods, priests, pharaohs and private individuals.[345] In

[344] Apul. *Met.* 11.11. In this part of the procession, the priests displayed the images of the gods, i.e., the dog-headed Anubis, a cow in upright posture representing Isis, the *cista secretorum* (representing Osiris?) and the *urnula*, the revered image of the highest deity.
[345] Bothmer 1973, xxxv-xxxvii.

accordance with Egyptian tradition, some of the gods are depicted in their animal form or as anthropomorphic statues with animal heads. Likewise, some of the statues represent pharaohs in the form of sphinxes. Fragments of clepsydra (water clocks) are also present among the examined material.

Objects in granodiorite, i.e., the 'monumental black/grey granite' from Aswan, are by far the most dominant with 35 objects. Although petrographically a granodiorite, this stone is often designated as 'diorite' in the archaeological literature.[346] In the case of the *Isea* of Beneventum of Rome, scholars have generally identified (and described) the stones of the Beneventan sculptures as 'diorite' while the stones of the Roman sculptures more often are identified (and described) as 'black or grey granite/syenite'. For the sake of convenience, I will designate the material of this group of sculptures as 'granodiorite'.[347]

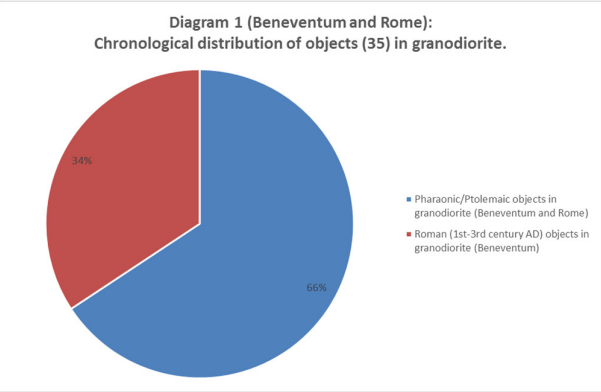
Objects in other dark-coloured stones such as basalt, greywacke, serpentinite, amphibolite, and green porphyry are only represented by a few or single objects. This uneven distribution most likely reflects the difficulty for non-specialists of distinguishing between the various dark-coloured stones. No doubt, future studies and petrographic analyses will provide new evidence for the identification of the stones and change the groupings suggested here.[348]

The Egyptians called their land '*kemet*', i.e., 'the black land', and the colour black was closely associated with the black, life-giving Nile mud and, religiously, with the regenerative properties of Osiris (and Isis). Hence, the choice of a hard dark stone not only secured the sculpture but also the portrayed for eternity.[349]

Granodiorite

Granodiorite is an *igneous* rock with a phaneritic, i.e., large-grained, texture.[350] Outcrops of granodiorite are widely distributed throughout the Eastern Desert (Bir Umm Fawakhir) and in the

[346] There are among geologists varying definitions of 'granodiorite', 'diorite' and 'gabbro', see, e.g., De Putter and Karlshausen 1992, 70-76; Aston et al. 2000, 21 (fig. 2.7), 30-31, 36-38. According to Aston et al. 2000, 30, '*[…] granite and granodiorite differ from diorite, quartz diorite and gabbro in having greater than 20 per cent quartz.*', see also *Marmi colorati*, 229.
[347] Included in this group are stones listed as 'black and grey granite', 'grey granite with pinkish veins', 'grey-black stone with white and black clasts', 'black stone with bright veins', 'black syenite', 'diorite' and 'gabbro'.
[348] See, e.g., the ongoing project on the provenance determination of Aegyptiaca from Rome and the Roman world by S. Müskens, part of the VIDI project 'Egypt in the Roman world', University of Leiden.
[349] Aston et al. 2000, 24; Reuterswärd 1958, 17 ('*ewige Steine*'); *Marmi colorati*, 229 ('*eterno come il granito!*')
[350] For a detailed petrographic description, see Aston et al. 2000, 37.



Nile Valley where most of the ancient Egyptian and Roman quarries are located to the south of Aswan in the area around Ǧebel Ibrahim Pasha and Ǧebel Togok (or Nagug).[351]

Granodiorite has an overall dark grey to black appearance broken by light coloured veins or crystals. When these crystals are absent, the rock closely resembles basalt from the Fayum area for which it is frequently mistaken in the scholarly literature.[352] The black/grey granodiorite was favoured for statuary, sarcophagi and basins as well as for architectural elements. The exploitation of granodiorite began in the Early Dynastic period (ca. 3000-2686 BC) and continued into the Roman period. Yet, in the Roman period, the stone seems to have been quarried in smaller quantities than in the previous periods and the geographical distribution of the stone was more limited than that of the red Aswan granite.[353] Of the 35 sculptures in granodiorite discussed here, roughly 70% (23) are dated to the Pharaonic and/or Ptolemaic period and 30% (12) to the Roman period. (Diagram 1)

Basalt

Geologically basalt is a dark grey to black, fine-grained, *igneous* rock consisting mostly of plagioclase feldspar and pyroxene, and sometimes olivine. Two ancient quarry sites have been located to the north and south of the Fayum. The northern quarry at Widan el-Faras was primarily worked during the Pharaonic period while the southern quarry at Tilal Sawda (El-Minya) was exploited during the Graeco-Roman period.[354]

In five cases, the material of the 48 dark-coloured sculptures has been identified (and described) as 'black basalt'. The group consists of a kneeling figure, a male torso, a statue base with the remains of two feet, a clepsydra and an egyptianising portrait (Domitian?).[355] Chronologically

[351] For a geological map of the area, see Aston et al. 2000, 16, fig. 2.3; see also the map in Harrell and Storemyr 2009, 16, fig. 7 and foldout map 'H27'.
[352] Gnoli 1971, 121; Aston et al. 2000, 37.
[353] *Marmi antichi*, 224. Likewise, Plin. *HN* 36.63 only seems aware of the red Aswan granite.
[354] For a detailed petrographic description, see Aston et al. 2000, 24; moreover Harrell and Storemyr 2009, foldout map 'H2' and 'H3'.
[355] MNR, Terme di Diocleziano [lost]; MNR, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 362623 and 72255; Museo Barracco, inv. 27; Frankfurt aM. [Private collection]. The material of two additional sculptures, a 'Polyclitan' torso (MdS, inv. 1931) and a sphinx representing the Pharaoh Amasis (MC, inv. 35), is described as '*basalte verde*' and '*brauner Basalt*'. These sculptures are here grouped with the objects in 'greywacke'; see the section on 'Greywacke' below.

they range from the Late Period (ca. 664-332 BC) to the Roman imperial period. In this period, basalt was primarily exploited and used for *statuary*.[356]

The term 'basalt' has been widely misused in the archaeological literature. Thus, many sculptures made from greywacke (Wādī Hammāmāt) or granodiorite (Aswan) have uncritically been labelled as 'basalt'.[357] As demonstrated by Belli Pasqua, a misreading of a passage in Pliny's *Natural History* by the German renaissance scholar Georgius Agricola (1494-1555) has contributed to the conceptual confusion between 'basalt' and 'greywacke'. Agricola confused the Latin words '*basanitem*' (greywacke) with '*basaltem*' (basalt) and repeated this misunderstanding in his *De Natura Fossilium* (1546).[358] Generally, as in the case of the '*Neri antichi*' discussed above, the identification of and the terminology for dark-coloured stones are subject to uncertainty.

Greywacke and a note on the colour(s) of bronze

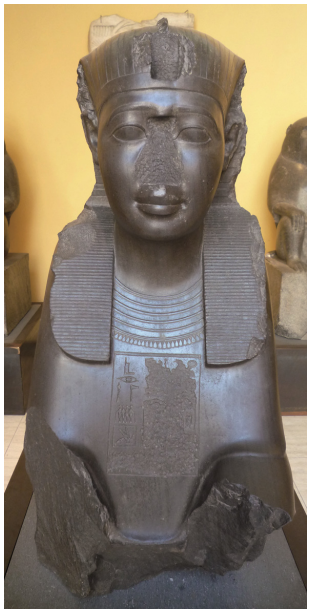


Figure 13

Geologically greywacke and siltstone are types of *sedimentary* rock formed from fragments of pre-existing rocks.[359] Greywacke and siltstone are generally dark-grey to greyish green, sometimes brownish in colour and they have a fine, hard and dense texture. In greywacke, the sand-size grains are visible to the naked eye, whereas individual grains in siltstone cannot be distinguished without a microscope.[360] In this survey, I have not attempted to distinguish between the two types, hence in the following they are summarised under the term 'greywacke'.

Greywacke was quarried in the Eastern Desert where a quarry site has been located in the Wādī Hammāmāt. Based on the evidence of inscriptions found in the quarry, mostly dedications to the ithyphallic Pan, it appears that the quarry was exploited on a limited and occasional basis during the Pharaonic and Ptolemaic periods, whereas extensive and systematic extraction of the stone took place during the Roman period.[361]

[356] Basalt was also exploited during the Old Kingdom but was mainly used for different architectural elements; see Aston et al. 2000, 24.
[357] Aston et al. 2000, 24.
[358] Plin. *HN* 36.58; Belli Pasqua 1995; 2007, 152.
[359] Some geologists consider the siltstone and greywacke to be 'slightly metamorphosed' and therefore append the prefix 'meta' to both varieties; for a detailed petrographic description, see Aston et al. 2000, 57-58.
[360] Aston et al. 2000, 57; *Marmi colorati*, 238.
[361] Di Leo 1989, 56; *Marmi antichi*, 266-267; Schneider 1999, 931; Belli Pasqua 2007, 153; Harrell and Storemyr 2009, 21, fig. 11 'H28a'; foldout map 'H28a-b'.

Previously scholars often labelled the Wādī Hammāmāt rocks as 'slate', 'schist', and, as we have seen above, 'basalt'.[362] This also applies to the six sculptures in greywacke from the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome. The materials of these sculptures are variously termed '*dunkelgrüner Amphibolit*', '*dunkel Schiefer*' and '*basalte verde*'. The group consists of two falcons (Horus), a sphinx (Amasis) (Fig. 13), a naophorous, the royal head of a sphinx and a 'Polyclitan' torso.[363] The Egyptians called the stone '*Bekhen*' or '*beautiful or sparkling stone of Bekhen'*.[364]

Throughout the Pharaonic, Ptolemaic and Roman periods the use of greywacke was closely connected with élite culture. It was particularly favoured for representations of gods, pharaohs, and queens and, during the Roman period, for imperial portraiture and ideal sculpture ('*Idealplastik*') including sculptures of animals.[365] Besides these uses, the stone was employed for vessels, *stelae*, sarcophagi, *naoi* and, during the Roman period, for small columns, basins, and *labra*. In the Roman period, the distribution of greywacke outside metropolises such as Alexandria and Rome was limited, underlining its prestigious status.[366]

The Romans highly esteemed the overall dark green to brownish appearance of the greywacke, which when used in statuary, might imitate works in bronze. In this connection, it is important to note that the colour of bronze might vary from almost white over golden to reddish brown according to the composition of the bronze alloy.[367] The Romans seem to have favoured bronzes with an artificial added dark coating of bitumen.[368] Indeed, a dark patina of copper sulphide has been attested on some of the bronzes from the Mahdia shipwreck;[369] other bronzes were gilded and in a passage, Pliny describes how treatment with bull's gall provided '*[…] bronze and basins with a golden colour.*'[370] Moreover, inlays in other materials accentuating, e.g., facial features, added

[362] Aston et al. 2000, 57-58. Some geologists identify the 'slate' or 'Schiefer' with the fine-grained siltstone. In Italian, the term 'breccia verde' is often used to describe the Egyptian greywacke.
[363] MdS, inv. 1894 ['*Amphibolit*'], 1895 ['*Amphibolit*'], 1901 ['*Amphibolit*'], 1931 ['*basalte verde'*]; MC, inv. 35 ['*brauner Basalt'*]; Florence, MAN, inv. 5420 ['*dunkler Schiefer*']. In German, the term '*Amphibolit*' is sometimes used for '*Grünschiefer*'. The geological composition of both the dark green amphibolite (of *metamorphic* origin) and black basalt (of *igneous* origin) is different from the *sedimentary* siltstone and greywacke.
[364] Harris 1961, 78-82.
[365] For the concept of '*Idealplastik*' and its history, see Gazda 2002, 4-8, esp. p. 7; Perry 2005, 78-110.
[366] *Marmi colorati*, 238.
[367] Heilmeyer 1994, 801-802; Peltz 2009, 71-81; moreover Plin. *HN* 34.8., who describes the colours of different Corinthian bronzes.
[368] Plin. *HN* 34.15 and 35.182.
[369] Heilmeyer 1994, 801-807; Willer 1994, 1023-1031.
[370] Plin. *HN* 28.146 and 34.63. The French Budé edition of Pliny's text translates *HN* 28.146 in the following way: '*Le plus puissant est le fiel de taureau, au point qu'on l'utilise pour dorer les statues et les vases de bronze*'. Thus, *aes* is associated with 'bronze statue' and *pelvis* with 'bronze basins/bowls'. For further examples of the use of gall as colorant, see Plin. *HN* 11.195 and 34.94. I thank J. Isager for these references.

further realism to the statues.[371] Bronze sculptures were vulnerable immediately after completion. To avoid tarnishing and oxidation maintenance was necessary and Pliny recommends greasing with oil, pitch, or wax.[372]

It is important to note that greywacke did not function as a *substitution* for bronze simply because the difficulty of extraction, the cost of transportation, and the necessary specialist working of the Egyptian stone in many cases made the use of greywacke the more expensive solution.[373] Nevertheless, it seems clear that the Roman patrons and sculptors were fully aware of this material interplay and deliberately exploited the ability of the Egyptian greywacke to *imitate* the dark patinated bronze and vice versa.

As mentioned above, there is often a close cohesion between the 'physical' and 'tactile' properties of a stone, i.e., its workability, colour and geographic origin, its subject matter (iconography) and its final context of installation. In the case of greywacke (and other dark-coloured stones for that matter), such a cohesion between 'iconography', 'colour' and 'origin' is suggested by two passages in Pausanias and Pliny concerning the representations of rivers. According to Pausanias, '*[…] the images of all rivers except the Nile in Egypt are made of white marble; but the images of the Nile, because it descends to the sea through Aethiopia, they are accustomed to make of black stone.*'[374] In his treatment of greywacke, Pliny says that '*[…] no larger specimen of this stone has ever been found than that dedicated by the emperor Vespasian in the temple of Peace, the subject of which is the Nile, with sixteen of the river-god's children playing around him […].*'[375] I will return to the subject of the Nile and discuss the possible ideological associations of Vespasian's dedication in Chapter 7 below.

Green porphyry

As mentioned above, greenish-black porphyry or *lapis hieracites* ('hawk-stone')[376] is one of the three varieties of porphyry extracted at Ǧebel Dokhan in the Eastern Desert. It has a greenish-black fine-grained groundmass with pale green and white inclusion.[377] The greenish-black porphyry does not

[371] Born 2004, 127-131; Wünsche 2004, 133-147.
[372] Plin. *HN* 34.99.
[373] Di Leo 1989, 59; Gregarek 1999, 148; Belli Pasqua 2007, 156.
[374] Paus. 8.24.12; see also Schneider 2002, 96, 102-103 (Note that it is the images of the Nile that are executed in black stones and not, as Schneider has it here, the images of the other river gods); moreover Gregarek 1999, 138-139.
[375] Plin. *HN* 36.58; for the works of art displayed in the Templum Pacis, see Appendix D below; moreover Millar 2005, 110-112; Bravi 2009, 177-178.
[376] Plin. *HN* 37.167, 37.187.
[377] For a detailed petrographic description, see Aston et al. 2000, 49; *Marmi antichi*, 278; Harrell and Storemyr 2009, 21, fig. 11, 'H12a'.

seem to have been exploited in the Pharaonic period and, probably, the Romans were the first to extract the stone in the first half of the first century AD. Besides statuary, the greenish-black porphyry was used for different architectural elements, such as small columns and inlays in floor and wall veneer.[378]

Only one of the 48 dark-coloured sculptures discussed here was carved from greenish-black porphyry. This identification is, however, one of the few based on petrographic analyses of the stone.[379] The sculpture represents a Roman copy of an Egyptian female sphinx with Hathor locks (or wig), depicting one of the wives of Thutmose III (ca. 1479-1425 BC). (Fig. 14) The Egyptian original was found in the Via del Beato Angelico in 1856/1858 and is currently on display in the Museo Barracco (inv. 13).[380] The Roman copy, which is generally assumed to have been found at the same occasion, was sold at Sotheby's New York (December 2010) as part of the collection of the Late philanthropist Clarence Day (1927-2009). The only difference between the two sphinxes is the hieroglyphic inscription on the breast of the Egyptian original, which is missing on the Roman copy. As in the case of the egyptianising relief columns mentioned above, this Roman sphinx constitutes an important source of information for the Roman appropriation of Egypt and things Egyptian.

Figure 14

Serpentinite

According to Lembke, a stelophorous, i.e., a standing figure holding a Horus-stele between his arms, is carved from '*Serpentin*'.[381] Two varieties of serpentinite were extracted: a greyish to mostly greenish with black veins or patches and a black variant speckled with grains of grey or brown. Both variants were quarried in the Eastern Desert, but only the quarry of the greenish serpentinite has so far been located near Wādī Umm Esh. The 'green' and 'black' varieties were exploited during the

[378] *Marmi antichi*, 278; *Marmi colorati*, 235.
[379] According to Lembke 1994, 242, no. E 45, the petrographic analysis was carried out by the Department of Mineralogy of the British Museum. I assume that the term 'green porphyry', in this case, corresponds to the Egyptian green porphyry and not the Greek one, i.e., the '*marmor Lacedaemonium*'.
[380] Lembke 1994, 225, no. E 15; Sist 1996, 48-50.
[381] Florence, MAN, inv. 1788; Lembke 1994, 233, no. E 27.

Pharaonic period. However, in the Roman period, the greenish serpentinite seems to have been the most favoured.[382]

The hieroglyphic inscription on the statue reveals that the statue represents the priest Merj-her-jtef, priest of Chentechtai/Khenti-Kheti, i.e., the (crocodile) god of Athribis in Lower Egypt. The stele depicts the Horus child, holding a scorpion and a gazelle in his right hand and a snake and a lion in his left. A Bes mask is depicted above Horus' head. The statue is dated to the Late Period (ca. 380-332 BC). Whether or not this statue belonged to the sculptural decoration of the Iseum Campense is uncertain. In the 16th century, the statue formed part of the '*museo carpense*', i.e., the collection of Cardinal Carpi (1500-1564) housed in the family palazzo near S. Maria sopra Minerva. Hence, the possible association between the statue and the Iseum.

Location	Inv. no.	Type of object
Benevento, MdS	1893	Squatting baboon [granodiorite]
Benevento, MdS	1896	Falcon [granodiorite]
Benevento, MdS	1897	Squatting baboon [granodiorite]
Benevento, MdS	1903	Statue of pharaoh, Domitian? [granodiorite]
Benevento, MdS	1904	Pharaoh on throne [granodiorite]
Benevento, MdS	1905	Anterior part of sphinx [granodiorite]
Benevento, MdS	1906	Statue base, priest [granodiorite/gabbro?]
Benevento, MdS	1918	Apis bull [granodiorite/gabbro?]
Benevento, MdS	1919	Egyptian god, Anubis? [granodiorite]
Benevento, MdS	1922	Priest with Osiris-Canopus [granodiorite]
Benevento, MdS	1924	Priest [granodiorite/gabbro?]
Benevento, MdS	1926	Priest with Osiris-Canopus [granodiorite]
Benevento, MdS	2165	Statuette of pharaoh, emperor? [granodiorite]
Benevento, MdS	2166	Head of statue, Isis [granodiorite]
Benevento, MdS	"251a"	Falcon [granodiorite]
Benevento	without no. (private collection)	Isis enthroned [granodiorite]
Benevento, MdS	1907	Falcon [granodiorite/black syenite]
Benevento, MdS	1920	Block statue [granodiorite/black syenite]
Rome, Museo Barracco	308	Sphinx [granodiorite/black syenite]
Benevento, MdS	1894	Falcon [greywacke/amphibolite]
Benevento, MdS	1895	Falcon [greywacke/amphibolite]
Benevento, MdS	1901	Head of sphinx [greywacke/amphibolite]
Benevento, MdS	1931	'Polyclitan' torso, [greywacke/green basalt]
Rome, MNR Palazzo Altemps	8607	Bust of pharaoh Amenemhat III [granodiorite]
Rome, MNR Palazzo Altemps	112108	Head of bald man [granodiorite]
Rome, MNR Palazzo Altemps	362622	Sphinx [granodiorite]
Rome, MNR Palazzo Altemps	362624	Lion [granodiorite]
Rome, MC	26	Squatting baboon [granodiorite]
Rome, MC	32	Squatting baboon [granodiorite]
Rome, MC	28 (left of Michelangelo's ramp)	Lion [granodiorite]
Rome, MC	30 (right of Michelangelo's ramp)	Lion [granodiorite]
Vatican, MGE	21 (22676)	Lion [granodiorite]
Vatican, MGE	23 (22677)	Lion [granodiorite]
Rome, Museo Barracco	13	Female sphinx [granodiorite]

[382] For a detailed petrographic description, see Aston et al. 2000, 56; moreover, Harrell and Storemyr 2009, 21, fig. 11 'H26'; *Marmi colorati* 240; *Marmi antichi*, 291.

Location	Inv. no.	Type of object
Rome, Villa Albani	No. 4 (Curto 1985)	The goddess Sekhmet [granodiorite]
Turin, Museo Egizio/Florence, MAN	Suppl. 9/8708	Stelophorous [granodiorite]
Saint Petersburg, Hermitage	8698 (2507b)	Clepsydra [granodiorite]
Copenhagen, NCG	ÆIN 933	Ptolemaic king? [granodiorite]
Munich, SSÄK	WAF 22	Horus [granodiorite/black syenite]
Rome, MNR Palazzo Altemps	362623	Male torso [Black basalt/Basanite)]
Rome, MNR Palazzo Altemps	72255	Statue base with two feet [black basalt]
Rome, MNR Terme di Diocleziano (?)	without no. [lost]	Kneeling statue [black basalt]
Rome, Museo Barracco	27	Clepsydra [black basalt]
Frankfurt aM.	without no. [private collection]	Egyptianising portrait, Domitian? [black basalt]
Rome, MC	35	Sphinx, Amasis [greywacke/brownish basalt?]
Florence, MAN	5420	Naophorous [greywacke/basalt?]
Previously Memphis, TN / Sold at Sotheby's New York (December 2010)	without no. [private collection]	Roman copy of female sphinx [green porphyry]
Florence, MAN	1788	Stelophorous [Serpentinite]

Table VII: Objects in dark-coloured Egyptian stones (48).

Egyptian alabaster and stones of unknown Egyptian origin

Alabaster

A colossal statue of an enthroned pharaoh is carved from Egyptian alabaster. (Fig. 15) The top of the statue, from the waist up, is, however, a modern restoration of the 18th century made in greenish Italian (Volterra) alabaster.[383] Hieroglyphic inscriptions along the lower legs and the lower part of the back pillar identify the pharaoh as Ramses II (1279-1213 BC). Similar sculptures are known from the Great temple of Amon at Thebes. The statue was found in the area of the Iseum Campense around 1720.[384] (Table VIII)

Geologists variously classify the Egyptian alabaster or *lapis alabastrites*[385] as a 'calcite-alabaster' or a 'travertine', which are both of *sedimentary* origin. In a strictly geological sense, the term alabaster is, however, incorrect because true alabaster is composed of gypsum whereas travertine is composed of the mineral calcite.[386] Alabaster generally has a translucent appearance with yellowish-white undulating bands of different widths alternating with narrower bands of pure white or brownish-pink.[387]

[383] Paris, Louvre, inv. A 22; *Antiquités Égyptiennes I*, 185; Humbert et al. 1994, 54.
[384] Humbert et al. 1994, 56; Lollio Barberi et al. 1995, 194. In Rome, the statue formed part of the Albani collection where it was seen and described by Winckelmann. Winckelmann, however, erroneously identified the statue as a seated Isis with the Horus child. It is therefore sometimes described as such in the literature, see, e.g., Roullet 1972, 91, no. 116; Lembke 1994, 231, no. E 24.
[385] Plin. *HN* 36.60.
[386] European geologists traditionally use the term 'calcite-alabaster' while American geologists favour the term 'travertine'; see Aston et al. 2000, 59; *Marmi colorati*, 241.
[387] For a detailed petrographic description, see Aston et al. 2000, 59-60, who distinguish between three varieties of 'Egyptian travertine'; moreover Harrell and Storemyr 2009, 21, fig. 11 'T2-3'.

Nine ancient quarry sites have been located in the area between Tell el-Amarna in the Nile valley (6) and the North Galala Plateau in the Eastern Desert (3).[388] In the Roman period, only two of these (Wādī Araba in the Eastern Desert and Hatnub in the Nile valley) seem to have been exploited. Based on the wide distribution and general availability of Egyptian Alabaster during the Roman period, it seems likely, however, that the Romans exploited other alabaster quarries than the two mentioned here.[389] With a cost of 75 denarii per foot, Egyptian alabaster belonged to the medium-priced stones in Diocletian's Price Edict.


Figure 15

Throughout Antiquity, alabaster was particularly favoured for small vessels, canopic jars, statuettes, *shabtis*, bowls, dishes and cinerary urns. Large blocks of alabaster were difficult to extract from the quarries and the stone was only occasionally used for monumental sarcophagi and statuary. During the Roman period, alabaster was also used for small columns and imperial composite busts, i.e., with the portrait head usually of marble.

Stones of unknown and possibly Egyptian origin

In 10 cases, the material of the sculptures (5) and architectural remains (5) of the *Isea* is simply described as 'green stone', 'Egyptian hard stone', 'Egyptian marble', 'di pietra' and 'granite', making it difficult to assign them to any of the material categories outlined above. (Table VIII) The group of objects in 'granite' and 'di pietra' consists of four columns, two wall reliefs (here counted as one), a fragment of a naophorous statue and a squatting baboon.[390] According to Lanciani, the reliefs were decorated with '*[…] brani di mistiche figure alate […]*' carved in sunken relief, suggesting an Egyptian origin. In the case of the naophorous and the baboon, three Renaissance drawings confirms their Egyptian nature. Still, we are left uninformed about the colour and other identifiable properties of the 'stone/granite'.[391] Likewise, the origin of the 'granite' of the four columns is subject to uncertainty. As we have seen above, petrographic analyses have established that other columns of the Iseum Campense were made of grey Elba-granite. Hence, the 'granite' of the four columns was not

[388] Aston et al. 2000, 8-9, fig. 2.1; Harrell and Storemyr 2009, foldout map T1-T9.
[389] *Marmi colorati*, 241.
[390] Lembke 1994, 189-190, nos. D 9-12, 197, no. D 33, 232, no. E 26, 239, no. E 37.
[391] For the reliefs with 'mystical winged figures', see Lanciani 1883a, 60; for the drawings of the naophorous and the squatting baboon, see Roullet 1972, 112, no. 192, 125, no. 247 and Plates CLV, figs. 218-219, CLXXV, fig. 254.

necessarily of Egyptian origin.[392] The group of sculptures in 'Egyptian hard stone', 'Egyptian marble' and 'green stone' consists of a statue of Isis, a fragment of a statue and the lid of an Osiris-Canopus Jar. In this case, the combination of the *a priori* 'Egyptian' motifs of the sculptures as well as the descriptions of the materials as either 'Egyptian' or 'green' would confirm the Egyptian origin of the stones. However, the scanty descriptions do not allow us to assign the stones to specific Egyptian quarry sites.

Location	Inv. no.	Type of object and material
Paris, Louvre	A. 22	Enthroned pharaoh [Egyptian alabaster]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Column [granite]
Rome, Antiquario Comunale 7659 (?)	without no. [lost]	Column [grey granite]
Rome	without no. [in situ Via del Beato Angelico]	Column [granite]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Column [granite]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Two relief fragments [granite]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Naophorous [granite?]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Statue of Isis [Egyptian hard stone]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Fragment of statue [Egyptian marble]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Osiris-Canopus Jar [green stone]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Squatting baboon [di pietra]

Table VIII: Objects in Egyptian alabaster and stones of unknown Egyptian origin (11).

Bronze and stones of unknown origin

Sculptures in bronze probably constituted an important element in the sculptural decoration of the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome. However, only one sculpture in bronze, a monumental fountain sculpture in the form of a Pinecone, has survived. I will return to the subject of the Pinecone and discuss its possible association with the Iseum Campense in Chapter 7 below. What is of importance here is the composition and possible geographic origin of the bronze alloy, which, as far as I know, has not been determined.[393]

In four cases, the material of the sculptures (2) and architectural elements (2) is not known. (Table IX) The group consists of a sunken relief, the lower part of a papyrus column, a reclining statue of a river and a group of altars (here counted as one).[394] Based on the various types of monuments and their possible relationship to other finds associated with the Iseum Campense we may speculate that the papyrus column, the reclining river and the altars were carved from different white marble types. Likewise, the sunken relief-technique, a principal characteristic of Egyptian art, may suggest an Egyptian origin (and date) for the material of the relief slab. However, as mentioned

[392] Bongrani 1992, 67-73; and the section on the 'Polychrome marbles' above.
[393] Musei Vaticani, Cortile della Pigna, inv. 5118; on the restoration and possible determination of the bronze alloy, see Angelucci, S. 1986. "Il restauro della pigna vaticana." *BMonMusPont* 6: 5-49 [non vidi].
[394] Lembke 1994, 192, no. D 20, 197, no. D 32, 219, no. E 5; 245-246, no. E 50.

above, we know that egyptianising, i.e., Roman period, wall reliefs in white marble of non-Egyptian origin decorated the walls of both *Isea*. I will discuss the sculpture of the reclining river and the group of altars in more detail in Chapter 7 below.

Location	Inv. no.	Type of object
Vatican, Cortile della Pigna	5118	Pinecone [bronze]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Fragment of sunken relief [?]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Fragment of papyrus column [?]
Rome	without no. [lost]	Statue of River god [?]
Rome	without no. [lost/Casa di Orazio Muti]	A group of altars [?]

Table IX: Objects in bronze and stones of unknown origin (5).

6. The Iseum of Beneventum

This chapter re-examines the sculptural (obelisks, statues in the round) and architectural remains (columns, wall reliefs, frieze panels) of the Iseum at Beneventum. The sanctuary was built during the reign of Domitian in AD 88-89, but its location within the cityscape of Beneventum is unknown. Over the years, different Graeco-Roman, egyptianising and older Pharaonic and Ptolemaic sculptures have been discovered in various locations throughout the city. Although found in secondary contexts, these sculptures are usually associated with the Iseum of Domitian.

However, as discussed in the Introduction, the dispersed nature of the finds may have led to a preferential association between the Beneventan Iseum and *Egyptian* styled sculptures at the expense of *Graeco-Roman* styled sculptures, giving the Iseum a too exclusively 'Egyptian' image. A main objective of this chapter is to challenge this distinctively 'Egyptian' appearance of the sanctuary, suggesting that Graeco-Roman aspects too played a role in the sculptural decoration of the sanctuary. It is argued that the visual interplay between the chronologically, stylistically and materially distinct Egyptian, egyptianising and Graeco-Roman sculptures formed a coherent visual whole tied at the same time to the recent Flavian past as well as to the experienced present of Domitian.

I will proceed as follows. First, I will summarise the research history of the Beneventan Iseum. Then follows a review of different methodological problems associated with the study of the Iseum and its sculptural decoration. I then proceed to examine the evidence of two small obelisks, carved with hieroglyphs, emphasising their importance for the interpretation of the remaining sculptural decoration of the Iseum. In the lack of a *physical* context, these obelisks provide the Iseum with a detailed *historical* context. I then review the question of the location of the sanctuary, suggesting a possible ideological (and divine) association of Isis, Minerva and Magna Mater in Flavian Beneventum. Next, I briefly examine the evidence of the Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures before proceeding to a more detailed discussion of the possible association between the Iseum and a group of six Graeco-Roman sculptures. The reconsideration of a seventh statue, the so-called '*danzatrice*', complement the section on the sculptural decoration of the Iseum. Special emphasis is given to the typology, iconography and material of the '*danzatrice*'. The chapter is concluded by a critical evaluation and discussion of the traditional 'chronological' and 'stylistic' classification of the Beneventan sculptures, arguing for a more nuanced understanding of the sculptural layout of the Iseum. Finally, I will reconsider the wider political, religious and ideological significance of the sanctuary for the *gens Flavia*.

A number of diagrams illustrating the chronological distribution of the sculptures as well as their different materials and places of discovery supplement the analysis. All relevant data on the individual sculptures and architectural elements can be found in Appendix A.

Brief research history

Apart from the occasional mention in early works on the history of Beneventum,[395] the sculptures and architectural remains discussed here have mainly received scholarly interest in connection with their discovery or new findings within Egyptology. Thus, the two obelisks were described and their inscriptions deciphered in the early 19th century due to Champollion's work with the decipherment of the hieroglyphs.[396] Almost a century later, in 1903, an important discovery of several Egyptian, egyptianising and Graeco-Roman sculptures was made when a section of the north-eastern Lombard city wall was demolished. The Beneventan architect and archaeologist, A. Meomartini (1850-1923), together with the Egyptologist O. Marucchi (1852-1931) and the archaeologist L. Savignoni (1864-1918) immediately published the remarkable discovery in the *Notizie degli scavi* in 1904.[397]

Despite the significant nature of the find, it remained relatively unnoticed among both Classical archaeologists and Egyptologists. The sculptures of the Iseum were briefly described and a few of them photographically reproduced in M. Rotili's guide to the Museo del Sannio from 1967.[398] However, the sculptures only gained wider scholarly attention in 1969 when the German Egyptologist H. W. Müller (1907-1991) published his comprehensive monograph on the '*Isiskult im antiken Benevent*', which remains, to date, the only monographic treatment of the sanctuary.[399]

Müller's thorough monograph has – quite deservedly – been so authoritative that only minor suggestions and adjustments to his interpretations has been presented since its publication. Thus, M. Malaise relies mainly on Müller's work in his survey of the Beneventan material from 1972.[400] In the same year (1972), Basile published the occasional find of a statue base with claws of a falcon.[401] The scholarly interest in the Iseum and its sculptural decoration has increased significantly within the last 15 years. Since 1997, a number of exhibitions focusing on various aspects of the

[395] Of special interest is De Nicastro 1976 [1683], De Vita 1754-1764 and Borgia 1763-1769. Of importance is also Meomartini 1979 [1889-1895], whose work follows the same historiographical tradition as his 18th century predecessors.
[396] Champollion 1824, 43-45; Champollion-Figeac 1842, 662-663.
[397] Meomartini 1904, 107-118; Marucchi 1904, 118-127; Savignoni 1904, 127-131.
[398] Rotili 1967, 7-9.
[399] Müller 1969; an Italian edition of the monograph appeared in 1971.
[400] Malaise 1972, 294-305.
[401] Basile 1972, 282-286.

goddess Isis, 'cultural exchange', Egyptomania, and the Flavian dynasty have stimulated new discussions and raised new questions in relation to the significance of the sculptures of the sanctuary.[402] In 2005, the Museo del Sannio organised a seminar presenting recent research on '*Il tempio di Iside a Beneventum*' and, in 2007, a new catalogue of the sculptures and architectural remains of the Iseum was published by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Napoli/Caserta.[403]

Methodological problems

The sculptural and architectural decoration of the Iseum constitutes an important archaeological and historic case study. However, the lack of proper archaeological excavations as well as the unknown location of the Iseum complicate the 'case study' and the reconstruction of its sculptural and architectural layout. Most of prehistoric and Roman Beneventum lies beneath the modern city and thus is not easily accessible for excavation. Diagram A2 is a graphic rendering of the distribution of the objects associated with the Iseum on their year of discovery, illustrating the fact that most of the objects are occasional finds discovered in connection with general construction activity. Hence, 29, of the 57 objects, corresponding to 51%, were found in 1903 during the demolition of a section of the Lombard city wall.

As already mentioned, the dispersed nature of the finds may have led to a preferential treatment of *Egyptian* styled elements at the expense of *Graeco-Roman* styled elements, giving the Iseum a too exclusively 'Egyptian' image. It seems reasonable to suggest, however, that at least some (if not all?) of the Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures discovered at Beneventum belonged to the sculptural decoration of the Flavian Iseum. This is suggested by the presence of the egyptianising obelisks as well as by the comparable evidence from the Iseum Campense at Rome. Still, the ratio between the 'black' Egyptian and the 'white' Graeco-Roman sculptures clearly seems flawed. The loss of the inventory of the Museo del Sannio during the Second World War constitutes a further factor, affecting the later reconstructions of the provenances of the sculptures.[404]

The data for my own re-examination of the material is primarily based on the information compiled in Müller's monograph from 1969 as well as the information provided by the

[402] *Iside* 1997 [Pirelli 1997, 376-380]; *Ägypten Griechenland Rom* 2005 [Quack 2005, 398-404]; *Egittomania* 2006 [Pirelli 2006, 129- 143]; *Divus Vespasianus* 2009 [Gasparini 2009, 348-353].
[403] To my knowledge the proceedings of the 2005-seminar, 'Il tempio di Iside a Beneventum. Modelli a confronto e nuovi studi sulla collezione isiaca del Museo del Sannio', have not been published, see, however, the papers by Pirelli 2007, 8-17 and Bragantini 2007, 18-27 in the most recent catalogue of the sculptures, *Il culto di Iside a Benevento*. See, moreover, Iasiello 2006, 51-61; Vergineo 2007, 83-93.
[404] In a few cases, the provenances indicated by Müller rely alone on the memory of the former director of the Museo del Sannio, A. Zazo. Müller 1969, 7, 59, no. 262, 60-64, nos. 263-265, 94, no. 283, 113-114, nos. 306, 39, 38.

most recent (2007) catalogue of the Beneventan sculptures. In order to achieve a more complete reconstruction of the sculptural layout of the Iseum, I have also used the original publication of the greater part of the sculptures, i.e., the papers by Meomartini, Marucchi and Savignoni published in the *Notizie degli scavi* in 1904. These papers not only describe the Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures found in 1903, but also mention the discovery of Graeco-Roman styled sculptures as well as a few inscriptions and several architectural elements.[405]

In addition to the sculptures and architectural remains described in these publications, I have included the following sculptures in my assessment of the sculptural decoration of the Iseum: a statue of the Apis bull standing at Porta S. Lorenzo, a base with the claws of a falcon and a statue known as the '*danzatrice*'.[406] Hence, the analysis includes forty-nine sculptures (obelisks (3), statues in the round (46)), six architectural remains (wall reliefs (5), frieze panels (1)) and two inscriptions, i.e., in all 57 objects. All relevant data concerning the individual sculptures and architectural elements, including a concordance between the Museum inventory numbers and those of Müller's catalogue, can be found in Appendix A.

Finally, I will shortly address the methodological problems related to the stylistic development and dating of Egyptian sculpture of the late Pharaonic, Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Different factors, such as the rare inscriptions, a preference for re-use of Pharaonic material, including the introduction of an archaising style, a widespread practice of imitating and copying and the lack of clear contexts are just some of the difficulties encountered when dealing with sculptures of this period.[407] In this respect, the Beneventan sculptures forms an important point of reference for the development of the Egyptian imagery during the late first century AD.

However, the dating of some of the Beneventan sculptures, especially a group of six sphinxes carved from red and dark Aswan granite, remains a matter of difficulty. Based on stylistic criteria, Müller dated four of the sphinxes to the Ptolemaic period and the remaining two sphinxes to the Roman imperial period.[408] Similar stylistic considerations, e.g., a slight inclination of the heads

[405] Savignoni 1904, 127-131; Meomartini 1904, 109-111.
[406] Beneventum, Porta S. Lorenzo (*Apis bull*), MdS, inv. 493 (*Danzatrice*) and 251a (*Falcon*). Müller 1969, 12, does mention the Apis-bull, but questions the identification and its association with the Iseum. For the '*danzatrice*', see the section on the 'Graeco-Roman sculptures' below. A sphinx in the Villa S. Michele on Capri has not been included in the present re-examination of the Beneventan sculptures. The Capri sphinx is sometimes associated with the Iseum at Beneventum because of its similarity with other sphinxes found there. Scholars generally assume that A. Munthe (1857-1949) came in possession of the sphinx via the antique market in Rome or Pozzuoli; see Müller 1969, 21; Poole 2002, 61-62; Pirelli 2007, 12-13.
[407] Bothmer 1973, x-xi; Müller 1969, 17; Ashton 2002, 276-278; 2010, 970-989; see also Appendix H below.
[408] Müller 1969, 72-73, no. 272 (Ptolemaic), 80-81, nos. 275 (Ptolemaic) and 277 (Roman), 113-114, nos. 306 (Ptolemaic), 39 (Ptolemaic) and 38 (Roman).

of the sphinxes, have led some scholars to attribute the sphinxes to the Roman period, while others favour a date in the Ptolemaic period for the greater part of the group.[409] Whether Ptolemaic or Roman – a judgement, which sometimes seems influenced by the either 'Egyptian' or 'Classical' background of the scholars – the dating of the Romano-Egyptian sphinxes remain an important but so far unsolved problem.[410]

The obelisks of the Iseum

Figure 16

Two small obelisks carved from red granite formed part of the sculptural decoration of the Iseum of Beneventum. One of the obelisks, recomposed from five joining pieces, stands in the Piazza Papiniano; (Fig. 16) the second obelisk, lacking its uppermost part, is on display in the Museo del Sannio.[411] (Fig. 17) We do not know when or where (or if) the obelisks were rediscovered. However, in 1598, during the papacy of Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605), one of the obelisks was re-erected in front of the Cathedral of *Santa Maria Assunta*.[412] However, in 1869, the obelisk was transferred to the Piazza Papiniano where it was re-erected in 1872.

During a visit to Beneventum in 1826, Jean-François Champollion (1790-1832) deciphered the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the obelisks. In a letter to his older brother, Jacques-Joseph, dated September 5th 1826, he writes: '*Les inscriptions portent qu'ils ont été élevés pour le salut de l'empereur Domitien, et placés devant le temple de la déesse Isis, grande dame de Bénévent, par Lucilius Rufus [...].*'[413] This is the first mention of the existence of an Iseum at Beneventum.

[409] Sist 1996, 76 (Ptolemaic); Bragantini 2007, 24-25 (Roman?).
[410] The chronological sequence of the sculptures suggested here mainly relies on the dates given in Müller 1969 and in the most recent (2007) catalogue of the sculptures in the Museo del Sannio.
[411] MdS inv. 1916; the shafts of the two obelisks measures ca. 3.0 m (without the *apex*) and ca. 2.20 m respectively. The slightly truncated bases of both obelisks have also been preserved. The fragment of a third obelisk, MdS inv. 2167, suggests that originally more obelisks decorated the Iseum.
[412] On a map representing the Papal city of Beneventum the obelisk is indicated in front of the Cathedral, Borgia 1763-1769, II, p.1.; Rotili 1986, 116, fig. 36. Moreover, De Nicastro 1976 [1683], 89-90 (p. 69); Zoëga 1797, 84, erroneously indicating 1698 as the year of re-erection, 644 [Pizella's drawing of the obelisk]; Meomartini 1979 [1889], 485. For some reason, Müller assumes that the obelisk was re-erected during the papacy of Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590) and thus to be associated with Sixtus' re-erection of obelisks in Rome, see Müller 1969, 10, 29 n. 10.
[413] Champollion-Figeac 1842, 663; Ungarelli 1842, 155-163, tav. 5; Hartleben 1906 vol. 2, 52.

In 1892, the *apex* (or *pyramidion*) of the obelisk standing in Piazza Papiniano was found during excavations in the garden of Marquis De Simone located along the north-eastern part of the Lombard city wall.[414] In the light of this discovery, Erman and Schiaparelli published new translations of the inscriptions.[415] Although several philological improvements and annotations have been added to Erman and Schiaparelli's translations, Erman's version remains authoritative.[416]


Figure 17

The inscriptions on the two obelisks are almost identical and although their execution is fine, they are from a linguistic and orthographic perspective rather halting.[417] It has therefore been suggested that the hieroglyphic texts were translated into Egyptian from a non-Egyptian idiom, probably Greek.[418] The following translation of the inscription repeats the latest English edition as published by Iversen in 1973.[419] I have emphasised controversial passages in italics and commented on these passages in the footnotes.

Front face, I: [To] Horus: Divine Youth; Nebty: He who conquers with force; Golden Horus: Rich in years and great of victory; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Autocrator, Caesar; Son of Re: Domitian, the immortal, *returned from the commonwealth of the empire*[420] and the subjugated foreign parts to his palace in the capital, Rome.

II: To Great Isis, mother of the God, Sothis, Ruler of the gods, Lord of heaven and earth and the underworld. The *legate of the augustus* with the beautiful name of immortal Domitian, Rutilius Lupus, erected for her and the gods of his city Beneventum, this obelisk, that long life in happiness may be granted him (i.e., the emperor).

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[414] Schiaparelli 1893, 269; Erman 1893, 210-211 (*östlichen Stadtmauer*); 1896, 149; Müller 1969, 82 (*Nordmauer der Stadt*).
[415] Schiaparelli 1893, 267-274; Erman 1893, 210-218; 1896, 149-158.
[416] Marucchi 1904, 119; Müller 1969, 10-11; Malaise 1972, 296-299; Iversen 1973, 15-28; Colin 1993, 253-258; *RICIS* 505/0801-02.
[417] Erman 1893, 211-212, 214-215.
[418] Erman 1893, 214-215; 1896, 155; Müller 1969, 11; Malaise 1972, 299. Iversen 1973, 16, argues that the first draft was in Latin.
[419] Iversen 1973, 26-27.
[420] This phrase now usually translates as 'he who has collected tributes from the land NN'; Colin 1993, 254 or 'he who has collected tributes from the Two Lands', i.e., the provinces of the Empire; *RICIS* 505/0801-02. Scholars generally interpret this as an allusion to a military campaign at the margins of the empire, i.e., Germania Superior or Dacia.

Back face, III: In the eight year of Horus: Strong Bull; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands: Horus, son of the God, whom all the gods love; Son of Re, Lord of diadems; Domitianus, the immortal, a noble temple was built for Great Isis, Lady of Beneventum, and her Ennead, by Rutilius Lupus, *legate of the augustus*.[421]

IV: To Great Isis, wife of the God, the eye of Re, Lord of heaven and all the gods. The *legate of the augustus* with the beautiful name of immortal Domitian, Rutilius Lupus, made for her and the gods of his city Beneventum this monument, that joy, life, prosperity, and health may be granted him (i.e., the emperor).

The mention of the Iseum provides the obelisks with a context and, at the same time, places the sanctuary within a greater historical context. Hence, the inscription tells us that a certain Rutilius Lupus[422] erected the obelisks in the eight year of Domitian's reign – that is, sometime between September 14th AD 88 and September 13th AD 89.[423] The obelisks were consecrated to Isis, who is named 'Lady of Beneventum', and a 'splendid palace', i.e., a temple, was built to her and her fellow deities. The occasion for the erection of the obelisks and the consecration of the sanctuary was the safe return of the emperor from a military campaign.[424]

Two military campaigns saw the personal involvement of Domitian in this period: the revolt of the governor of Germania Superior, L. Saturninus Antonius, in January AD 89 and later that same year the conclusion of a peace with Decebalus, the king of Dacia.[425] It is uncertain which campaign the inscription hints at, and although the Dacian war seems the most obvious,[426] it is

[421] In accordance with Erman 1893, 215-216, the phrase following the name of the dedicator is normally translated into the formula '*pro salute et reditu imperatoris*', i.e., 'for the well-being and safe return of the emperor', see also *RICIS* 505/0801-02. Iversen 1973, 25, however, suggests an alternative translation: 'he who goes forth and returns', i.e., a hieroglyphic rendering of the Latin title '*legatus augusti*'. The same phrase precedes the name of the dedicator on face II and IV.

[422] The transcription of the name of the dedicator has given rise to serious controversies among Egyptologists and different readings of the name have been proposed. Champollion's "Lucilius Rufus" was rejected by Erman who instead suggested "Lucilius Mpups". In recent studies, however, the reading "Rutilius Lupus" has been preferred. Champollion 1824, 44-45 n. 4; Erman 1893, 217; Müller 1969, 11; Malaise 1972, 299; Iversen 1973, 17-20; Colin 1993, 253; *RICIS* 505/0801-02. For the *gens Rutilia* at Beneventum, see Torelli 2002, 187-188, 337-338.

[423] For other possibilities, see Colin 1993, 253-254.

[424] *Iside* 1997, 503; Colin 1993, 254-257; for a comparable dedication of obelisks, see Zawadzki 1969, 106-117.

[425] Erman 1893, 215-216; Müller 1969, 11; Malaise 1972, 299; Colin 1993, 254-257; Jones 2002, 144-152.

[426] A passage by Suet. *Dom.* 6.2 indicates that Domitian was in or near Rome when the decisive battle in Germania took place.

possible that the inscription refers to both campaigns. In any case, at the end of the year, Domitian was back in Rome where he celebrated a double triumph over the Chatti and the Dacians.[427]

The identity of Rutilius Lupus remains obscure. It is assumed, however, that he was a local magistrate acting on behalf of Domitian.[428] In previous scholarship, Rutilius Lupus was identified with the eponymous *praefectus annonae* of Rome (ca. AD 103-111), who later served as *praefectus Aegypti* from AD 113-117.[429] More recently, scholars tentatively identify him with the *legatus legionis XIII Geminae* of Pannonia active during the Flavian period.[430]

The location of the Iseum

As mentioned above, the location of the Iseum within Beneventum is unknown. So far, three main hypotheses concerning its location have been put forward. In the following, I will briefly review the evidence for these three hypotheses, and suggest a fourth based partly on the evidence of epigraphy, and partly on the evidence of three of the statues found in (and under) the Lombard city wall in 1903. Finally, I will briefly discuss the possible reasons why Domitian built a sanctuary to Isis at Beneventum of all places!

Piazza Piano di Corte

Based on the important discovery of Egyptian and Graeco-Roman sculptures in 1903, Meomartini suggested that the ancient location of the Iseum was to be sought in the north-eastern part of the city, near the Piazza Piano di Corte and the ex-convent of Sant'Agostino. (Fig. 18) He tentatively identified some Roman foundations in *opus reticulatum*, located between the Arch of Trajan and the Lombard city wall (where the sculptures were found), as the foundations of the temple of Isis.[431] Whether the Roman ruins actually belonged to a temple has, however, never been satisfactorily verified. However, as suggested by Bragantini, the fact that it was possible to reconstruct many of the statues from the fragments found in the wall makes it likely that the (deliberately destroyed?) sculptures were found near their original context.[432] Of the 57 sculptures, architectural remains and inscriptions associated

[427] Suet. *Dom.* 6; Jones 2002, 150-152; for the panegyric celebration of Domitian's German and Dacian campaigns as well as Minerva's role as his protectress in contemporary poetry, see Hardie 2003, 139-142.
[428] Iasiello 1997, 379; Torelli 2002, 187-188.
[429] This was already assumed by Champollion; see Champollion-Figeac 1842, 663; Hartleben 1906 vol. 2, 52.
[430] Torelli 2002, 187-188, 337-338.
[431] Meomartini 1904, 107-110. According to Meomartini, not only statues, but also architectural remains (of the Iseum?), such as column-drums and Corinthian capitals and bases, were found reused in the Lombard city wall.
[432] Marucchi 1904, 127; Bragantini 2007, 25-26; see also the section on the 'Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures' below.

with the Iseum, 68% (39) have been found in the north-eastern part of the city. (Diagram A3) Finally, it has been argued that the sanctuary of Isis, the protectress of sailors and travellers, should be sought close to one of the main entrance roads to Beneventum, i.e., in this case, the road preceding the Via Appia Traiana (AD 108-110).[433]

Piazza Cardinal Pacca

Contrary to Meomartini, Müller argued for a location of the Iseum in the south-western part of the city, near the Piazza Cardinal Pacca, the Cathedral of *Santa Maria Assunta*, and the Archiepiscopal Palace. (Fig. 18) This was probably the area of the Roman forum of Beneventum, and, according to Müller, a more suitable location for the Iseum than a location on the outskirts of the ancient city. Müller also emphasised the importance of a location at or close to the intersection of the two decumani (the Via Appia and the Via Latina).[434]

The long historical association between the two obelisks and the Cathedral played an important role in Müller's argumentation. Müller took it for granted that the considerable weight of the obelisks had prevented them from being moved far from their original location.[435] It should be remembered, however, that the obelisks have been recomposed from a number of smaller fragments and that – generally – the moving and re-use of ancient statues seems to have been a common phenomenon in late antique and Lombard Beneventum. The discovery of the *apex* of one of the obelisks in the north-eastern part of the city seems to confirm this assumption.[436]

Other important elements in Müller's argumentation consisted in the Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures and architectural remains found in this area. Besides the two obelisks, this group consists of a frieze panel (with Apis bull), an enthroned pharaoh, a block statue of Neferhotep, an enthroned Isis, a Horus falcon, two lions, and a small fragment of an obelisk with pseudo-hieroglyphs, i.e., in all seven sculptures and one architectural element, corresponding to 14% of the 57 objects associated with the Iseum.[437] (Diagram A3) As a further argument for a location near the

[433] Galasso 1968, 144-150. The *SPQR* commemorated the construction of the road (and other imperial deeds of Trajan) by the erection of the 'Arch of Trajan' (AD 114) that marked the beginning of the Via Traiana, leading from Beneventum to Brundisium. On the urban layout of Roman Beneventum, see Torelli 2002, 103-115.
[434] Müller 1969, 26. On the location of the Forum, see Torelli 2002, 103-115. From Teanum, a side-road of the Via Latina lead to Beneventum via Allifae (Alife) and Telesia).
[435] Müller 1969, 27.
[436] Schiaparelli 1893, 269. When Champollion inspected the obelisks in 1826, he clearly found some of the fragments lying around in a fragmentary and intermixed state; see Champollion-Figeac 1842, 656, 662-663; Hartleben 1906, vol. 2, 51.
[437] MdS, inv. 1891, 1904, 1920, without no. [private collection], 251a, without no. ['in situ' Campanile], without no. [lost], 2167; see also Müller 1969, 27; Pirelli 2007, 9-10. It seems likely, as suggested by Galasso, that these sculptures

Cathedral, Müller mentions the possible transmission of the worship of Isis (mother goddess) to that of Mary (virgin mother) as well as the former location of a church dedicated to St. Stefano in the Piazza Cardinal Pacca. Indeed, in Rome and Verona, churches of S. Stefano are situated near or on the locations of Romano-Egyptian sanctuaries.[438]

Piazza Ponzio Telesino

Most recently, Pirelli has suggested that the Iseum may have been located near the Roman theatre of Beneventum, i.e., in the Piazza Ponzio Telesino, south-west of the Cathedral.[439] (Fig. 18) This hypothesis is based on the comparison with the locations of other Romano-Egyptian sanctuaries, especially the Iseum of Pompeii. At Pompeii, the Iseum is located immediately to the north of the so-called Great or Large Theatre (VIII.7.20).[440] Excavations have so far not confirmed a connection between the Beneventan theatre and the sanctuary of Isis. However, the relationship between Egyptian sanctuaries and theatres is an exciting issue, which, within recent years, has received renewed scholarly attention.[441] An important aspect of the Egyptian cults consisted in the performance of ritual dramas. In the lack of space within the sanctuary proper, these dramas are likely to have taken place in nearby theatres.

The ruins of the 'Santi Quaranta'

In the following section, I will briefly review the evidence for the possible existence of a joint sanctuary dedicated to Minerva *Berecynthia*, Magna Mater and Isis at Beneventum. Based on the evidence of six inscriptions dedicated to Minerva *Berecynthia* and three sculptures representing two lions (of Magna Mater?) and the goddess Minerva, I tentatively suggest that this sanctuary may have been located at the site known as 'Santi Quaranta' in the north-western part of the city. (Fig. 18) The sculptures of the lions and that of Minerva, which will be discussed in detail in the section on the Graeco-Roman sculptures below, were found together with the *aegyptiaca* reused in the Lombard city wall in 1903. Hence the possible association with the Iseum. The cult of Magna Mater was

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(and objects from other contexts) were reused as building material during an enlargement of the Cathedral in the 9th century; see Galasso 1968, 148-149.

[438] Müller 1969, 27-28; Pirelli 2007, 10; see also Chapter 7, 'The location of the Iseum', below. According to Galasso 1968, 145, S. Stefano also had a church in the Piazza Piano di Corte, i.e., in the north-eastern part of the city, close to where the sculptures were found in 1903.

[439] Pirelli 1997, 378; 2007, 10. On the 1st/early 2nd century AD Roman theatre of Beneventum, see Sirago 1995, 155-160; Sear 2006, 143.

[440] On the relationship between the Iseum and the Great Theatre of Pompeii, see Gasparini 2013, 185-211.

[441] On the connection between Egyptian sanctuaries and theatres, see Nielsen 2002, 212-236; see also Themelis 2011, 97-109 [Messene (Mavromati, Greece)]; Sear 2006, 261-262 [Itálica (Santiponce, Spain)].

officially introduced at Rome in 204 BC during the troubled years of the Second Punic War. Her cult generally enjoyed great prominence and Magna Mater was closely associated with the concerns of the Roman state and during the imperial period with the well-being of the emperor.[442]

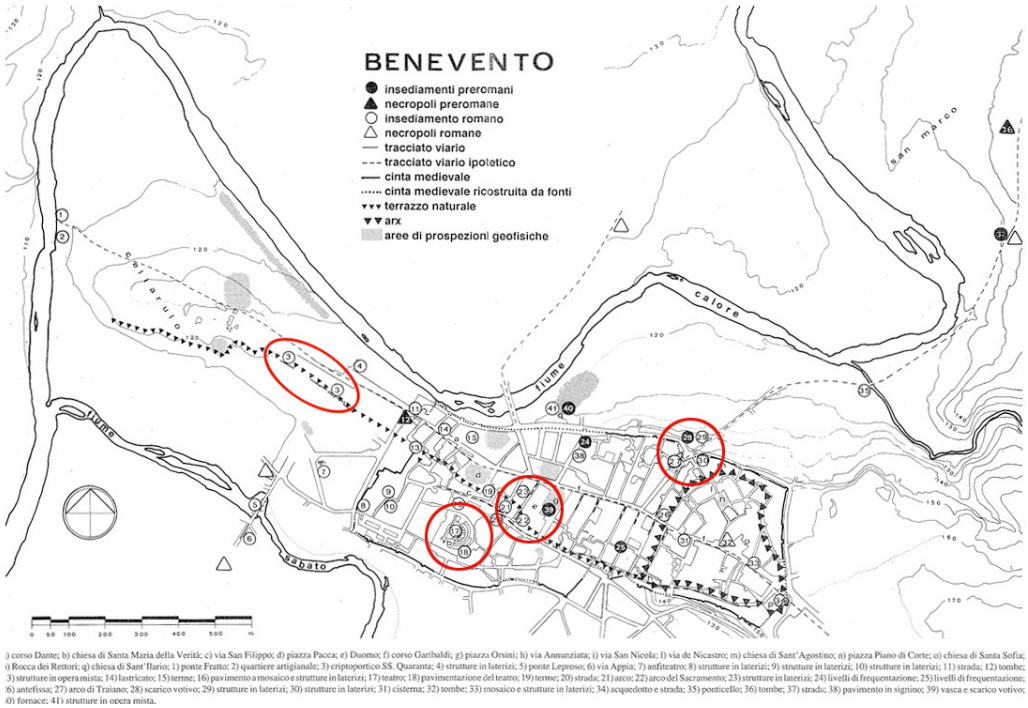

Figure 18

Six inscriptions commemorating bull sacrifices, so-called *taurobolia*, show that Minerva was worshipped with the epithet *Berecynthia* (or *Paracentia*) at Beneventum.[443] This epithet, derived from mount Berecynthus in Phrygia, and the rite of *taurobolium* are usually exclusively associated with the cult of Magna Mater and her consort Attis. Thus, scholars have generally considered Minerva *Berecynthia* as another name for Magna Mater.[444] However, as convincingly demonstrated by Duthoy, an actual assimilation of the two goddesses is unlikely to have taken place because the name of Magna Mater in two of the Beneventan inscriptions occurs together with that of Minerva *Berecynthia*.[445] Duthoy further argues that Athena/Minerva, like Magna Mater, had strong relations to Phrygia due to her position as the protectress of Troy and that this circumstance explains

[442] Beard et al. 1998, 197-198.
[443] *CIL* IX, 1538-1542; Duthoy 1966, 548-561. For the sixth inscription, see Adamo Muscettola 1994, 97-99.
[444] Cybele/Magna Mater was particularly worshipped at mount Berecynthus in Phrygia; see Duthoy 1966, 549-550; Müller 1969, 28; Pirelli 1997, 376.
[445] *CIL* IX, 1538 and 1540. Minerva Berecynthia is associated with Attis in all the Beneventan inscriptions.

the unusual epithet.[446] While five of the inscriptions date to the years around AD 228, the palaeography and prosopography of the sixth inscription dates it to the Flavian-Trajanic period.[447]

The two lions in red Aswan granite found at the Lombard city wall in 1903 were categorised among the Graeco-Roman sculptures in the 1904-publication of the finds. (Fig. 19) Savignoni noticed that the lions were not '*[…] del solito stile egizio convenzionale, ma di stile naturalistico […]*',[448] and when Müller in 1969 republished the lions, including a third lion walled up in the campanile of the Cathedral, he associated the lions with the chariot of Magna Mater/Minerva Berecynthia, which traditionally is drawn by lions.[449] With reference to the neighbouring positions of the Metroon and the Sanctuary of the Egyptian deities at Delos, Müller moreover mentioned the possibility of a similar '*Nachbarschaft*' between Magna Mater and Isis at Beneventum.[450] As we will see, the statue of Minerva found on the same occasion probably belonged to the sculptural decoration of the Beneventan Iseum.[451] Minerva was sometimes associated with Isis and both goddesses held important positions in Flavian ideology.[452]

Figure 19

As outlined above, Müller argued for a location of the Iseum near the Cathedral and consequently believed that the site of the temple of Magna Mater/Minerva Berecynthia was to be sought nearby. He further implied that the sanctuary of Isis also accommodated other gods (cf. the inscription on the obelisks) and briefly introduced the notion of a larger religious complex dedicated to the '*orientalischen Gottheiten*'.[453] For the time being, the question of the location of the Iseum and the 'Oriental sanctuary' remains unsolved. Interestingly, however, Torelli suggests locating the sanctuary of Minerva Berecynthia '*[…] in the grandiose complex, almost 500 m. long, with*

[446] Duthoy 1966, 550, 553-555; see also Beard et al. 1998, 197-198.
[447] A certain M. Rutilius Peculiaris, who was probably a freedman of Rutilius Lupus, the donor of the obelisks, dedicated the altar with the sixth taurobolium inscription; Adamo Muscettola 1994, 97-99; Torelli 2002, 195-196. For the dating of the remaining inscriptions, see Duthoy 1966, 548-561.
[448] MdS, inv. 1911, 1912; Savignoni 1904, 131.
[449] Müller 1969, 74-79.
[450] Müller 1969, 28. Scholarship that is more recent considers the location of the Delian Metroon as unknown. The building that was previously recognised as the Metroon (building C within the precinct of the Serapeion C) is today identified as a temple of Hydreios; cf. Siard 2007, 417-447; moreover Vermaseren 1982, 188-204.
[451] MdS, inv. 1934.
[452] See Appendix G below.
[453] Müller 1969, 28; Malaise 1972, 303, nos. 45-47, 305.

substructures and cryptoporticoes in reticulate and brickwork, known as "dei Santi Quaranta", spectacularly situated at the entrance of the city on the Via Appia beyond the Ponte Leproso.'[454]

Torelli bases this assumption on the place of discovery of some of the *taurobolium* inscriptions mentioned above. Other dedications to Minerva Berecynthia, however, stem from the area of the Rocca dei Rettori in the opposite part of the city.[455] This situation perfectly illustrates the particular difficulties we are facing when trying to associate the often secondarily reused sculptures with either an epigraphically or physically attested context at Beneventum. That said, however, it is tempting to pursue Torelli's hypothesis and to include Magna Mater and Isis among the goddesses venerated at the '*colossal terraced shrine of Santi Quaranta*'.[456]

Despite the speculative nature of the Beneventan evidence, we might assume that the architectural and religious situation at Beneventum to a certain extent reflected the locations and religious activities of other monumental sanctuaries, such as the sanctuary of Isis and Serapis in Rome's third region, the sanctuary at Diana *Nemorensis* at Nemi and the sanctuary of Fortuna *Primigenia* at Palestrina. Like the *Santi Quaranta*, these sanctuaries were generally located along important access roads and dedicated to deities of health and fortune.[457] In any case, from a Flavian perspective, a divine association of Minerva, Magna Mater and Isis seems plausible.

Hence, based on the Flavian restorations of the temple of Isis at Pompeii and the temple of Magna Mater at Herculaneum, Adamo Muscettola reasonably argues that the cult of Magna Mater together with that of Isis and Serapis witnessed a politically motivated revival as part of the more general need to legitimise the accession of the *gens Flavia*. Hence, Vespasian had to counterbalance the particular status of the Egyptian gods (Isis and Serapis) with the protection of officially recognised members of the Roman pantheon, such as Magna Mater and Minerva.[458] The fact that the Flavian emperors placed their imperial destiny in the hands of Isis and Magna Mater is further emphasised by the contemporary establishment of joint priesthoods and sanctuaries of the two goddesses.[459]

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[454] Torelli 1999, 173; Torelli 2002, 51, n. 83. The identification and date of the structure are, generally, problematic. The suggested dates range from a date in the late Republican period to a date in the second and third centuries AD. Other suggestions regarding the function of the structures include a forum *boarium*, a public emporium, and a portico. For the archaeology and history of the Santi Quaranta, see now Ebanista 2006.

[455] Adamo Muscettola 1994, 99; Torelli 1999, 173; Torelli 2002, 112, 195-196, n. 97.

[456] Torelli 1999, 95.

[457] For the sanctuaries of Rome and Nemi, see above. For the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina and the possible association of Isityche and Minerva within this complex, see Coarelli 1994, 119-129. For the terraced sanctuaries in Italy, see D'Alessio 2010, 17-33.

[458] This process also included the desire to associate the *gens Flavia* with the fame of its predecessor the *gens Julia*, see Adamo Muscettola 1994, 89-92, 99-101; moreover, Isager 1976, 64-71; Boyle 2003, 4-14.

[459] For a recent overview of the epigraphic and archaeological evidence, see Bricault 2010, 265-284; for the particular case of Herculaneum, see Gasparini 2010, 229-264.

Why Beneventum?

To conclude this section on the location of the Beneventan Iseum, I will briefly discuss the possible reasons why Domitian chose to erect a 'splendid' and costly decorated temple to Isis and her fellow deities at Beneventum.

As we have seen, Beneventum was strategically situated at the fusion of the Via Appia and the Via Latina, leading from Rome to Brundisium, the gateway to the East.[460] From the very beginning of Flavian rule, the Flavian emperors seem to have founded a special relationship not only to Egypt and the Egyptian gods (Isis and Serapis), but also to the city of Beneventum.[461] The many Egyptian imports, the obelisks and the egyptianising portraits (of Domitian?) strongly suggest some level of imperial involvement in the city. It seems likely, that the reasons for this particular relationship should be sought in the 'dynastic meeting' between Vespasian and Domitian, which, as mentioned above, took place at Beneventum in the autumn of AD 70.[462] As argued above, this meeting situates Beneventum as an important *lieu de mémoire* and it seems reasonable to suggest that the prominent status of the Egyptian (and other Eastern) cults within the city was a direct and tangible way for Domitian to associate himself with his divine father and brother and the pivotal events in Alexandria and Judaea.

Of course, a precise location of the Domitianic Iseum within the urban fabric of Beneventum would be of utmost interest to the wider interpretation of the Iseum. However, while awaiting the results of future excavations,[463] the unique group of sculptures associated with the Iseum constitutes, as noted by Bragantini, a '*[…] contesto senza contesto […]*', providing us with an exceptional opportunity to explore Flavian ideology and self-representation as well as the pluralistic and eclectic nature of Roman art .[464]

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[460] Torelli 2002, 103-115.

[461] Takács 1995, 94-104; moreover Adamo Muscettola 1992, 65; 1994, 99; Colin 1993, 258; Lembke 1994, 93-94. It has been suggested that the '*adventus*' relief (frieze B) of the so-called Cancelleria reliefs (Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 13392-13395) represents the meeting between Vespasian and Domitian at Beneventum, see Magi 1945, 106-115, esp. p. 109-110; Hannestad 1988, 135-136; Luke 2010, 90-91. In the light of the posthumous *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian this interpretation, however, no longer seems tenable. In fact, it seems likely, that the portrait of Vespasian was re-carved from a portrait of Domitian. This implies that the person standing in front of 'Vespasian' did not represent Domitian but instead a senior official, a priest, or maybe, as suggested by Hölscher, the *praefectus urbi*. Generally, the presence of the Vestal Virgins suggests that the scene is set in Rome and not in Beneventum, see Bergmann 1981; Baumer 2007; Hölscher 1990; 2009, 54-58; moreover Kleiner 1992, 191-192.

[462] Dio Cass. 65.9.3: '*Vespasian had later come to Rome, after meeting Mucianus and other prominent men at Brundisium and Domitian at Beneventum*.' See also Chapter 4, 'The Flavian present', above.

[463] During the winter of 2009-2010, archaeological excavations were carried out near the Cathedral.

[464] Bragantini 2007, 20.

The sculptural decoration of the Iseum

In the following sections, I will re-examine the sculptural programme of the Beneventan Iseum. First, I will briefly review the evidence of the Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures (henceforth *aegyptiaca*). Then follows a detailed examination of a group of six Graeco-Roman sculptures found on the same occasion as the majority of the *aegyptiaca*, i.e., during the demolition of a section of the Lombard city wall in 1903. Next, the discussion of the Graeco-Roman sculptures is extended to include a further statue known as the '*danzatrice*'. Based on a discussion of the typology, iconography and material of this statue, I will review the evidence for a possible association between the '*danzatrice*' and the Iseum. The section is concluded by a critical evaluation and discussion of the traditional reconstruction of the sculptural display of the Iseum. It is argued that a more nuanced understanding of the sculptural layout of the Iseum, combining the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman elements, not only counterbalances the traditional 'Egyptian' view of the visual appearance of the Iseum, but also challenges our conventional understanding of its wider religious and ideological importance for the *gens Flavia*.

The Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures

The aim of this brief survey of the Beneventan *aegyptiaca* is to provide an overview of their subject matters, materials, chronology, as well as their possible display and function within the Iseum. All relevant data on the individual sculptures are given in Appendix A.

As already mentioned, none of the Beneventan *aegyptiaca* have been found *in situ*. Generally, the sculptures are characterised by signs of deliberate destruction in the form of missing or damaged heads, arms, legs and feet. It is uncertain whether these destructions were caused to facilitate their reuse as building material or by Christian iconoclasts.[465] The sculptures represent a wide range of traditional Egyptian subject matters, including obelisks, lions, sphinxes, gods in zoomorphic form, i.e., bulls (Apis), baboons (Thoth) and falcons (Horus), goddesses, priests, a block statue of a royal scribe, a pharaoh and Roman emperors (?) in Pharaonic dress. In Egypt, this type of sculpture was intended for display in sanctuaries. The architectural remains include a group of egyptianising wall reliefs and a frieze panel carved in relief with an Apis bull. The number of extant *aegyptiaca* from the Iseum is about 40.

[465] Bragantini 2007, 25-26; moreover Marucchi 1904, 127; Müller 1969, 26. Signs of intentional destruction of Egyptian-styled sculptured have been noted at Cuma; see Caputo 2003, 215, 217-218.

The oldest sculpture represents the enthroned pharaoh, Mery-shepses-Ra, Ini, of the late 13th dynasty (ca. 1700 BC) (Fig. 20), and the latest (stylistically dated) an egyptianising emperor in Pharaonic dress (Caracalla?) of the early 3rd century AD, i.e., a chronological span of approximately two millennia.[466] Of the 57 sculptures, architectural remains and inscriptions associated with the Iseum, 25% (14) are Egyptian imports of the Pharaonic (7%) and Ptolemaic (18%) periods. The remaining objects date to the Roman imperial period (especially the 1st-2nd centuries AD) and of these, about 50% (29) can be described as 'egyptianising'. (Diagrams A4a-b) The imported Egyptian sculptures are typically made of the red and dark grey granite from Aswan and other hard and dark stones, such as greywacke, quarried in the Eastern Desert. (Tables VI-VII) The egyptianising sculptures are made of both Egyptian stones, often the red and dark Aswan granite, and white marbles of unknown, probably Italian, origin. (Table II) Thus, of the 55 sculptures and architectural remains (inscriptions excluded) associated with the Iseum, 38, corresponding to ca. 70%, are carved from Egyptian stones. (Diagram A5)


Figure 20

The unknown location and layout of the Iseum makes it difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct the original arrangement of the *aegyptiaca* within the Iseum. A characteristic feature of the Pharaonic sanctuaries in Egypt was the long access or processional way (*dromos*) leading up to the temple. Sphinxes or other sacred animals often flanked the access ways and two obelisks flanked the entrance to the temple. Based on the evidence of the eight sphinxes and two obelisks found at Beneventum and on Roullet's reconstruction of the Iseum Campense, Pirelli has suggested that this traditional design may have been copied at Beneventum.[467] (Fig. 21) Moreover, it seems likely that the egyptianising relief slabs decorated the (interior?) walls of the Iseum.[468]

The architecture of the temple building itself has been associated with the prostyle tetrastyle Iseum at Pompeii.[469] This type of temple building is known from other Egyptian sanctuaries both in and outside Egypt in the Hellenistic and Roman period.[470] In Pompeii, the order of the columns is Corinthian and this may also have been the case at Beneventum. Hence, in the 1904-publication of the finds, Meomartini mentions the discovery of 12 Corinthian capitals (of varying sizes) in white

[466] MdS, inv. 1904 and 2165; Müller 1969, 62-63, no. 264, 67, no. 268.
[467] Pirelli 2007, 16; see also Roullet 1972, 23-32, fig. 352.
[468] In Egyptian temples, low reliefs were normally used for internal walls, while sunken-reliefs were used for external walls; see Müller 1969, 20, 49-54, nos. without no. [lost], 257-259; see also Appendix A, nos. 21-24.
[469] Pirelli 2007, 12.
[470] Roullet 1972, 30-31; Quack 2005, 404; Bianchi 2007, 470-471.

marble, numerous column-drums in *cipollino*, red granite, *granito bigio*, alabaster and peach-coloured breccias, as well as several ionic and smaller attic column bases in white marble.[471]

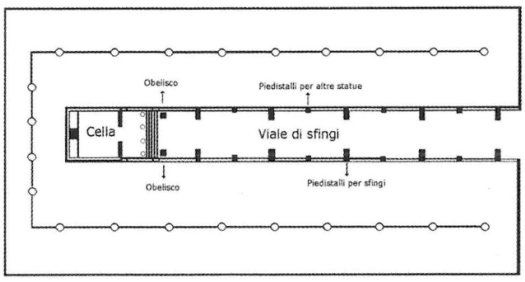

Figure 21

It is generally assumed that, in Egypt, the Romans chose the *aegyptiaca* to be exported more or less randomly without regard for their possible religious associations and meanings. Rather, the characteristic Egyptian 'look' of the *aegyptiaca* was important. Hence, the aesthetic preference for statues in dark stones, obelisks and animal gods.[472] However, recent studies have argued for a religious understanding of the sculptural layout (or at least part of it), emphasising the possible association between the sculptural decoration of the Iseum and the public festivals of the cult, i.e., the *Navigium Isidis* in the spring and the *Inventio Osiridis* in the autumn.[473] In these festivals Isis, Horus, Thoth, Osiris (-*Canopus*) as well as the *cista mystica* played key roles and the *aegyptiaca* may have created as an allusion to these religious manifestations.[474]

No doubt, as argued by Beard et al., the display of the stylistic and materially exotic *aegyptiaca* constituted an important part of the appeal of the cult outside Egypt.[475] Thus, as mentioned in the Introduction, the aesthetic, sensuous 'form' and the religious 'content' and 'function' of the *aegyptiaca* need not be mutually exclusive. In their Roman settings, it was the ambiguous and fluid boundary between these decorative and religious aspects, which made the *aegyptiaca* effective conveyors of political and ideological messages. At Beneventum, this ideological side of the *aegyptiaca* is particularly evident in the two obelisks and the portrait statue of Domitian (?) as

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[471] Meomartini 1904, 109-110; Cantarelli 1904, 354-365. There is also mention of two Doric entablature blocks in limestone (one of them depicts a siren with a male figure on the coiled tail); two fragments of an inscribed architrave block in limestone and a cylindrical altar dedicated to Vesta also in limestone, see *CIL* I^2, 3193.

[472] Lembke 1994, 36: '*Für die Römer, die die Stücke zum Transport aussuchten, waren also nicht der Bedeutungsgehalt oder das Alter des Objekte von wichtigkeit, sondern ging in erster Linie um ein Gestein, das den fremden Charakter unterstrich, um eindeutig mit Ägypten zu verbindende Darstellungsformen wie Obelisken und Tiere und schliesslich um die gute Verfügbarkeit […].*' Versluys 1997, 163: '*[...] there is no religious concept. It is the exotic character of an object rather than its religious meaning, which determines its attractiveness in the first place.*' Gregarek 1999, 117-118: '*[…] die ägyptischen und ägyptisierenden Statuen [scheinen], ihrer ursprünglichen Bedeutung beraubt, einen rein dekorativen, schmückenden Charakter gehabt zu haben.*' Mania 2008, 119: '*Insofern muss die Frage danach, ob ägyptisierende Ausstattungen dem Transport religiöser Ideen aus Ägypten nach Rom dienten, negativ beantwortet werden.*' Similar views are expressed in Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 207, 221, 480; Alfano 2001, 287.

[473] Quack 2005, 404; Gasparini 2008, 86; 2009, 351; moreover Malaise 2005, 204-210. The *Navigium Isidis* celebrated the opening of the spring sailing season at the beginning of March; the *Inventio Osiridis* took place in November and celebrated the finding and resurrection of Osiris by Isis; cf. Apul. *Met.*11.9-11, 16-17; Plut. *Mor. De Is. et Os.* 355D-359B.

[474] MdS, inv. 1893, 1897 (Thoth), 251a, 1894-1896, 1907 (Horus) 1908, 1918 (Apis), 1917, 2166 (Isis), 1922, 1926 (Osiris-Canopus), 1927 (Cista Mystica), see *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007.

[475] Beard et al. 1998, 278-291.

Pharaoh.[476] (Fig. 22) As we will see below, the juxtaposition and visual interaction between the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman styled sculptures probably further enhanced the distinct qualities of the *aegyptiaca*.


Figure 22

Finally, I will briefly mention the many formal similarities (and a few differences) between the *aegyptiaca* of the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome. Hence, obelisks, baboons, sphinxes, lions, pharaohs, egyptianising reliefs and portrait sculptures formed part of the sculptural display of both sanctuaries. Moreover, the *aegyptiaca* of the *Isea* chronologically span a period of more than two millennia. A notable difference between the Beneventan and Roman *aegyptiaca* consists in the representations of Horus in the form of a falcon, which, so far, are recorded only in Beneventum.[477] Regarding the size of the 'small' obelisks associated with the *Isea*, it is worth noting that the *Egyptian* obelisks of the Iseum Campense have an average height of ca. 6 m, whereas the *Roman* obelisks of the Beneventan Iseum have a reconstructed height of ca. 3-4 m. Hence, 'small', in this case, is a relative term.[478]

The Graeco-Roman sculptures

In this section, I will re-examine the evidence of six Graeco-Roman sculptures found reused in the Lombard city wall in 1903. The aim of this reassessment is to challenge the distinctively 'Egyptian' character of the Iseum at Beneventum, which, since the publication of Müller's authoritative monograph in 1969, has been generally accepted among scholars.[479] However, the juxtaposition of Egyptian, egyptianising and Graeco-Roman styled sculptures seems to have been the norm rather than the exception in other contemporary Romano-Egyptian contexts, e.g., the Iseum Campense in Rome (which will be discussed in Chapter 7 below) and the Iseum in Pompeii.[480] Hence, it seems

[476] MdS, inv. 1903, 1916 and the obelisk in the Piazza Papiniano; Müller 1969, 55-56, no. 260, 82, no. 278. The evidence of a striding statue (MdS 2165), a partially preserved sphinx (MdS 1921) a wall relief with profile head of a Roman pharaoh (without no. [lost]) and two heads from sphinxes (MdS 1901-1902) further emphasises this ideological use of 'Egypt' within the Iseum – that is, of course, if we accept the identification of these images as egyptianising portraits of Domitian, see Müller 1969, 49-51, 59-63, nos. 262-264, 94, no. 283; moreover Ashton 2010, 981-983.
[477] Note, however, the evidence of the falcon (Horus) in the Musei Capitolini, inv. 31, variously associated with the Iseum Campense (Pietrangeli 1964, 27, no. 1), the Villa Hadriana (Roullet 1972, 128, no. 261; Malaise 1978, 641, no. 47) and the Villa Casali on the Caelian (Reg. III), see Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 39-41, n. 7.
[478] For the Egyptian obelisks of the Iseum Campense, see Chapter 7, 'The Egyptian obelisks', below.
[479] Pirelli 1997; 2006; 2007; Bragantini 2007; Vergineo 2007; see also Beard et al. 1998, 281-282.
[480] For the Pompeian Iseum, see Tran tam Tinh 1964; Adamo Muscettola 1992, 63-75; D'Errico 1992, 76-79; Kleibl 2009, 277-286, Kat. 29; Gasparini 2013, 185-211; moreover, Hackworth Petersen 2006, 17-56.

pivotal to reconsider the possible connection between this group of Graeco-Roman sculptures and the Beneventan Iseum.

Savignoni meticulously described and catalogued the Graeco-Roman sculptures in a separate part of the 1904-publication of the finds.[481] The catalogue features two kneeling female sculptures in pavonazzetto, two lions in red granite, and an *imago clipeata*, in local stone. Moreover, Savignoni included five classicising Roman sculptures in his list. These sculptures represent a Polyclitan male torso in green basalt, the head of a female acrolithic cult statue in Greek marble, a statue of a *togatus* in white marble, a statue of a woman dressed in a short chiton in white marble, and finally a statue of Minerva, likewise in white marble. In all, ten sculptures were classified as 'Graeco-Roman'.

Of these sculptures, Müller included the two kneeling figures and the two lions (Fig. 19) in his catalogue of the sculptures of the Beneventan Iseum. Kneeling figures are very rare in Graeco-Roman statuary and are most often associated with prisoners or the personifications of seized nations.[482] Kneeling figures demonstrating piety, however, often occur in Egyptian imagery. Thus, the 'un-Roman' motif and polychrome material of the kneeling statues would associate them with the Iseum. Likewise, the lion is a well-known motif in Egypt and, as we saw above, it seems likely that, in this context, they are to be associated with another eastern goddess, i.e., Magna Mater.[483]

The more characteristic Graeco-Roman sculptures, i.e., the *imago clipeata* and the five classicising sculptures, were not included in Müller's catalogue. In fact, Müller used the evidence of the Graeco-Roman sculptures as an argument against Meomartini's original hypothesis of the location of the Iseum. Hence, Müller remarked that, '*[…] gegen diese Auffassung Meomartinis muss eingewendet werden, dass neben den ägyptischen Funden auch eine große Zahl von Skulpturen römischer Nationalkulte und anderer orientalischer Kulte vertreten sind […]*'.[484] Müller's background in Egyptology no doubt affected this assumption and his eventual dismissal of the classicising sculptures.[485]

Nevertheless, very few can disengage themselves from the unconscious influence of post-Napoleonic, modern aesthetics and museum displays, which neatly distinguish between

[481] Savignoni 1904, 127-131.
[482] Schneider 1986, 22-29.
[483] Müller 1969, 74-79, nos. 273-274, without no. ['in situ' Cathedral].
[484] Müller 1969, 26; see also Meomartini 1904, 109-110, 114, who besides different architectural elements and an altar dedicated to Vesta also mentions the discovery of '*[…] molti frammenti di porfido ... appartenuto a busti imperiali […]*'.
[485] For the dominant role of Egyptology and Egyptologists within the study of the Roman *aegyptiaca*, see Versluys 2010, 17-18; moreover Chapter 2 above.

Egyptian and Graeco-Roman monuments and thereby indirectly exclude a visual juxtaposition and interaction between the stylistic and materially different monuments. Aesthetic and visual considerations no doubt played an important role when designing a Roman sanctuary, including a sanctuary to an Egyptian deity. Such considerations, however, were based on a set of cultural values different from ours, and the stylistic, material, aesthetic and sometimes chronological differences between the, in this case, Egyptian and Graeco-Roman styled monuments do not seem to have excluded their association within a given context.[486]

Müller's remark about the discovery of '*eine große Zahl von Skulpturen*' seems to imply that many more Graeco-Roman sculptures were found in 1903. Once again, this should remind us about the unknown location of the Iseum and the difficult task of reconstructing the eventual ratio between the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman styled sculptures and architectural remains elements of the Iseum. With this reservation in mind, I shall nevertheless return to the evidence of the six overlooked Graeco-Roman sculptures. In the following sections, I will briefly describe each of the six sculptures and, based on their type, date and motifs, comment on the possible association between the individual sculptures and the Iseum.

The Imago Clipeata

A large wreath consisting of consecutive rows of flowers, laurel and oak leaves encircles the headless bust of the *imago clipeata*. (Fig. 23) Meomartini and Savignoni described the bust as '*imperiale*' and suggested that it as an architectural element originally belonged to the attic of an arch or another public building.[487] The *imago clipeata* distinguishes itself from the freestanding Graeco-Roman sculptures under discussion because of the poor quality of the workmanship, the use of a local stone, and, more generally, its different architectural function.

Figure 23

[486] Hallett 2005, 301-304 subtly illustrates how our marked period and culture consciousness, i.e., our understanding of artistic and cultural traditions as something pure, prevent us from valuing the blend and juxtaposition of different period styles. For the Romans, however, this was clearly not a problem and the juxtaposition and blend of different period and culture styles (often within the same work of art) were found both appealing and effective; see also Elsner 2006, 276-290 for '*the confrontation of Hellenic and Egyptian elements*' in different Roman contexts.

[487] MdS, inv. 1944, H. 0.74 m; Meomartini 1904, 112 ('*[…] un busto imperatorio […]*'); Savignoni 1904, 131 ('*[…] un busto imperiale, senza testa […]*').

The diffusion of *imagines clipeatae* in stone culminated in the second century AD and the specimen in Beneventum probably also belongs in this period.[488] Pliny describes how different Roman consuls dedicated 'shield-portraits' of their ancestors in temples and public places like the Basilica Aemilia in the Forum Romanum but also in private contexts like their own homes.[489] These portraits clearly accentuated the military virtues of a given person or family and although the connection between the Beneventan *imago clipeata* and the Beneventan sanctuary remains questionable it need not have been totally out of place in a monument conceived within an atmosphere of military success and triumph. In any case, the suggested second-century date as well as the poor workmanship of the object implies that the sculpture did not form part of the Domitian layout of the sanctuary. Nevertheless, later post-Domitianic architectural alterations might have included *imagines clipeatae* emphasising the initial triumphant nature of the monument.

The 'Polyclitan' torso

Only the lower part of the male torso, pelvis and upper thighs are preserved. However, the slight displacement of the hip identifies the pose as Polyclitan. (Fig. 24) Consequently, scholars variously identify the statue as a Roman copy of the Doryphoros or the Diskophoros of the fifth century BC.[490] The material of the sculpture is the hard Egyptian, greyish-green greywacke and the execution is careful. The choice of the greenish material is important not only because of its Egyptian origin but also because of its ability to imitate patinated bronze, which was probably the material of the Greek original.[491]

Figure 24

Whether or not this statue belonged to the sculptural decoration of the Iseum remains a moot point. At the very least, the Egyptian origin of the material and the Flavian date of the torso[492] might suggest a certain affinity between the torso and the sculptures of the Iseum. The statue may have been set up in the sanctuary as a private or public dedication to Isis

[488] See generally Neudecker 1997; Winkes 1969.
[489] Plin. *HN* 35.12-14. For a visual illustration of the use of shield portraits see for example the wall painting in the *tablinum* of the Casa del Bell'impluvio in Pompeii depicting two *imagines clipeatae* suspended between columns; Bianchi Bandinelli 1970, 91, Pl. 100.
[490] MdS, inv. 1931, H. 0.59 m; Savignoni 1904, 130-131; Rotili 1967, 9, Tav. IXa (Doryphoros); Gregarek 1999, 101, Abb. 92, 255, no. F1 (Diskophoros).
[491] For the similarities between greywacke and bronze, see Belli Pasqua 2007, 156; moreover Chapter 5, 'Polychrome marbles', above.
[492] Beck et. al. 1990, 529, no. 31; Gregarek 1999, 255.

or one of her fellow deities.[493] Indeed, the traditional Graeco-Roman motif and the characteristic Egyptian stone of the sculpture perfectly bridge the stylistic and material dichotomies, which generally characterise the study of various Romano-Egyptian contexts.

The colossal female Acrolith

The female colossal head in Greek (probably Parian) marble is usually associated with either Juno or Ceres and probably belonged to an acrolithic cult statue of an important Beneventan sanctuary.[494] (Fig. 25) The features of the goddess are idealised and her coiffure characterized by a central part and a round, braided hair knot. A chip from the neck and the left part of the nose are broken off and the separately applied back portion of the head is missing. Opinions are divided as to whether the sculpture is a Greek original of the fourth century BC or a Roman work of the Imperial period. It is nevertheless tempting to see a connection between the sanctuary of this colossal goddess and the cult of Isis. As a mother and giver of life, Isis was associated with both Juno and Ceres/Demeter.[495]

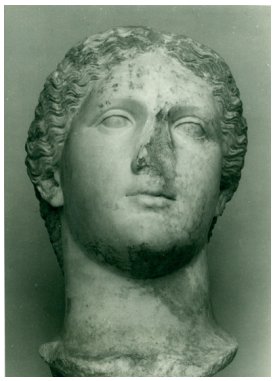

Figure 25

In this connection, a votive relief dedicated to '*Iunoni Sospiti Matri Ma[gnae] Isidi*' from Pozzuoli (Rione Terra) is of particular interest.[496] The dedicator is a certain Acilius Celadus who dedicated the relief in connection with a request for or the fulfilment of an '*orac<u>lum*'. Besides the inscription, the relief depicts two ears, which might represent the sick or the healed body part. More likely, however, the ears symbolise the ears of the invoked goddesses and their capacity to listen, which would situate the relief in the tradition of dedications to the '*theoi epekooi*', i.e., the listening gods.[497] This dedication illustrates the association of Juno, Magna Mater and Isis and

[493] Although the original context of the majority of these Polyclitan images is unknown, replicas of the Doryphoros have been found in a variety of places such as private houses, baths, theatres, *palestrae* and imperial villas; see generally Maderna-Lauter 1990, 369-376.
[494] MdS, inv. 1936, H. 0.62 m; Savignoni 1904, 128; Rotili 1967, 11, Tav. XIVa.
[495] Isis is associated with Hera in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus of the early second century AD containing a long invocation of Isis; cf. *P. Oxy.* XI, 1380, l. 32-35, 59-60, 67-68; Grenfell and Hunt 1915, 190-220; Bricault 2009, 136. The association of Isis/Serapis and Juno is also attested epigraphically, cf. *RICIS* 501/0128 (including *RICIS* 501/0129); *RICIS* 509/0101; *RICIS* 506/0201; moreover Malaise 1972a, 190. For the identification of Isis with Demeter/Ceres, see Hdt. 2.59, 2.123, 2.156; Diod. 1.13.5, 5.69.1; moreover Tran tam Tinh 1964, 159, no. 93; Kolta 1968, 42-51; Malaise 1972a, 180; Tran tam Tinh 1990, 781; Tobin 1991, 187-200. In Plut. *Mor. De Is. et Os.* 361E Isis is associated with Persephone.
[496] Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, inv. 320548; *RICIS* Suppl. 1 504/0406; Nuzzo 2006a, 82; Caldelli 2008, 66. The relief dates to the second century AD.
[497] Weinreich 1912, 1-68; for the evidence from Egypt, see also Lambrechts and Vanden Berghe 1955, 191-196; moreover Forsén 1996, 13-19.

testifies to a popular devotion to Isis and her fellow deities, worshipped for their medical and oracular virtues.

The statue of a draped figure

Savignoni tentatively suggested identifying this statue with a muse but eventually left the question of its identification open.[498] (Fig. 26) Indeed, I am inclined to think that, instead of a woman, the statue represents a male *togatus* of the so-called '*Manteltoga*' or '*Pallium*' type, which is ultimately derived from a Greek type of the fourth century BC. I tentatively base this assumption on the fact that no breasts are indicated below the mantle and – although extremely difficult to discern because of the missing feet and base – no tunic is visible underneath the mantle.


Figure 26

In the '*Manteltoga*' type, the mantle is wrapped around the body and over both shoulders while the right arm is bent and confined in a sling so that only the right hand emerges at the chest.[499] The togate statue in Beneventum has a slight *contrapposto* pose with the right knee bent, and the folds of the mantle running from the left armpit to the right angle. The left upper arm rests at the side of the body while the mantle ends hang down from the bent left forearm at the level of the hip. Although the head, the feet, and the left hand are missing, the overall state of preservation is good. The marble is fine-grained, wax-coloured, and probably Greek in origin.[500]

The togate statue – in all its different variants – was a conventional statue type from late Republican times and throughout the Roman imperial period. As noted by Woolf, the toga was, depending on context, a sign of *'[…] adulthood, of masculinity, of female deviance, of citizenship, of traditional virtue, of civil as opposed to military personae, of constitutional rather than monarchic style […]'*.[501] The type of toga worn by the statue in Beneventum is characteristic of the late Republican and early imperial period. The bent pose of the left forearm with the hanging ends of the toga, the stance of the legs as well as the material of the statue would indicate a date in the imperial period.[502]

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[498] MdS, inv. 1937, H. 1.12 m; Savignoni 1904, 129; Rotili 1967, 11. None of the parallels suggested by Savignoni (a restored "Urania" in the Jardin des Tuileries and a "Mnemosyne" in the Museo Pio-Clementino) are really convincing.
[499] For this type, see generally Kleiner and Kleiner 1982, 127-128; Goette 1989, 24-26.
[500] Savignoni 1904, 129.
[501] Woolf 1998, 171.
[502] Kleiner and Kleiner 1982, 126-127, 131.

There is no conclusive proof that this draped statue belonged to the sculptural decoration of the Iseum. It is, however, tempting to suggest that the statue was set up in the precinct of the sanctuary either by way of a decurional decree or as the result of a private dedication. Thus, we might speculate that the person portrayed had a special veneration for Isis and her fellow deities, which eventually led to the mounting of the statue within the Egyptian sanctuary. The presumably Greek origin of the marble and the general careful execution of the statue at least suggest that we are dealing with an individual of some prominence.

The statue of a woman in short chiton

Savignoni tentatively identified the statue of a woman dressed in a short chiton girded around the waist as either Artemis or an Amazon.[503] (Fig. 27) The statue lacks its head, both arms (except the upper half of the lowered left arm) and the lower legs and feet. The right arm might have been in a raised position. The hem of the dress is hollowed out from beneath and stands out from the bare lower legs. The good quality of the workmanship including the fine rendering of her pleated dress made Savignoni attribute the type to an Alexandrian workshop. Furthermore, Savignoni suggested that the supposed Alexandrian origin of the sculpture might explain its presence among the otherwise mainly Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures found at the Lombard city wall.


Figure 27

Savignoni was very cautious in his identification of the statue, and some reservations seem necessary. Hence, it is clear that in spite of the short chiton, the statue does not represent a 'standard' image of neither an Amazon nor an Artemis/Diana. The chitons of Amazons often leave one breast exposed while the chitons of standing sculptures of Artemis/Diana usually are double-girded, i.e., under the bustline and at the waist. Absent are also traces of typical attributes of Artemis/Diana such as the *nebris* or the bow and arrow.[504] Lastly, the question of the statue's affiliation to the sanctuary of Isis remains – as in the case of the other Graeco-Roman sculptures – a moot point.

However, with these iconographic and contextual reservations in mind, it is tempting to pursue the idea that the statue actually does represent Artemis/Diana. Despite the immediate differences between central virtues like motherhood and virginity, we know from epigraphic and

[503] MdS, inv. 1932, H. 0.97 m; Savignoni 1904, 129-130; Rotili 1967, 9, Tav. VIIIb.
[504] Devambez and Kaufmann-Samaras 1981, 624-630, nos. 575-708; Simon 1984, 801-805, nos. 16-26.

archaeological evidence that Isis and Artemis/Diana were associated with each other through their general beneficial and protective qualities in other sanctuaries, such as the Serapeum C on Delos and the Sanctuary of Diana *Nemorensis*, south-east of Rome.[505]

We do not know whether a juxtaposition of Isis and Artemis/Diana took place within the Iseum, nor do we know the more specific character of the Isiac cult at Beneventum. Isis' role as protectress of travellers and sailors most likely played a role,[506] however, her epithets 'Lady of Beneventum' and 'Great Isis' on the two obelisks seem to emphasise the universal character of her cult. The inscription on the obelisks specifically states that a temple was built for Isis and her *fellow deities* and that Rutilius Lupus erected the obelisks for Isis and the *gods* of his city.[507] Thus, we may assume that besides Isis the '*noyau de base*' of the '*gens isiaque*', i.e., Serapis, Harpocrates (Horus the Child) and Anubis/Hermanubis,[508] also received some kind of worship within the sanctuary. Moreover, the sculptures representing falcons, baboons and bulls indicate that Horus (the Great),[509] Thoth and Apis also played a role in the cult of the sanctuary. In this multiplicity of divine figures, the presence of a statue representing Artemis/Diana – in spite of its Graeco-Roman style – need not seem strange or inappropriate.[510]

The statue of Minerva

The last of the 'overlooked' Graeco-Roman statues found among the *aegyptiaca* at the Lombard city wall represents Minerva. (Fig. 28) The statue is a replica of the so-called 'Athena-Vescovali', a type named after a copy from the Vescovali collection, now on display in the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg.[511] This type was among the most favoured representations of Minerva during the first and especially the second century AD.[512]

The replica in the Museo del Sannio wears a peplos covered by a short mantle. The mantle drapes over the left shoulder and covers the bent left arm including the hand, which rests on the left hip. It continues in broad cross folds below the breasts and ends just above the knees. Her

[505] Delos: *RICIS* 202/0231 (146/5 BC); *RICIS* 202/0293 (112/1 BC); *RICIS* 202/0414 (166 BC); Roussel 1915-1916, 151, no. 127, 190, no. 179; Kleibl 2009, 221-227, Kat. 12. Nemi: *RICIS* 503/0301 (1st cent. AD); Guldager Bilde 1997, 71-77, 190-192; Kleibl 2009, 268-269, Kat. 26.
[506] Müller 1969, 18-19, 21.
[507] Iversen 1973, 26-27; *RICIS* 505/0801-02.
[508] Malaise 2005, 33-34.
[509] For the different forms of Horus, see Malaise 2005, 34-41.
[510] For different examples of how foreign and traditional cults might interrelate within the same sanctuary, see Beard et al. 1998, 280-283.
[511] MdS, inv. 1934, H. 1.40 m; Savignoni 1904, 128-129; Rotili 1967, 9, Tav. IXb; Schürmann 2000, 46-47, S 5, Taf. 23 Abb. 15-17. For the Vescovali type, see Picard 1984, 1086, no. 156; Schürmann 2000, 37-84; Altripp 2010, 108-140.
[512] Altripp 2010, 110-111, for the most recent list of the 36 replicas.

aegis is reduced to a small, oblique collar hanging across the chest. The little snakes of the *aegis* are only partially preserved. The head, including the original Corinthian helmet, is missing and so is the right arm. The quality of the workmanship is high and the marble probably Parian. Scholars generally agree on a date in the second half of the first century AD.[513]


Figure 28

Once again, the question of a possible affiliation between the statue and the sculptural decoration of the Iseum remains a moot point.[514] At first hand, the association of the virgin warrior Minerva with Isis, the goddess of motherhood and fertility, might appear strange. Nevertheless, as part of the wider political-religious ideology of Domitian and the Flavian emperors in general, a juxtaposition of Isis and Minerva is entirely appropriate.

As outlined in Chapter 4 above, Serapis played a key role in Vespasian's accession to power in Alexandria in AD 69, and during the same year, Domitian had to flee the Capitol Hill disguised as a devotee of Isis in order to escape the troops of Vitellius. Furthermore, the patronage of Isis is likely to have played a decisive role in the successful outcome of the Judaean War.[515] Thus, both Serapis and Isis held prominent positions in the political-religious ideology of the Flavian emperors.

Domitian, however, considered Minerva as his patron goddess.[516] His special veneration for Minerva manifested itself in the conduction of games – the *Quinquatria Mineruae* – at his Alban villa,[517] the construction of temples[518] and the frequent appearance of the goddess in his coinage. Thus, four standard reverse types were assigned to Minerva each year.[519] Of these, the pose of type four closely resembles the Vescovali type with the characteristic position of the left hand on the hip. According to one source, Domitian even claimed to be Minerva's son despite her status as a virgin goddess.[520] This particular association of Isis, Minerva and Domitian is also recognised in the

[513] Schürmann 2000, 47; Altripp 2010, 112.
[514] Schürmann 2000, 47, tentatively assumes an association between the sculpture of Minerva and the Iseum.
[515] Adamo Muscettola 1994, 87; Scheid 2009, 181-182; Bricault 2010, 275.
[516] Suet. *Dom.* 15.3; Jones 2002, 99-100.
[517] Suet. *Dom.* 4.4; Dio Cass. 67.1.2; moreover Hardie 2003, 135-142 who emphasises the '*overtly political agenda*' of the Alban festival as well as poetry's role in the shaping of Domitian's image and power.
[518] Mattingly 1930, 346, no. 241, Pl. 67.7; Jones 2002, 85, 88, 91.
[519] Mattingly 1930, 306-307, nos. 39-44, Pl. 60.8-11; for the association between Minerva and Domitian in sculpture, most notably the Cancelleria Reliefs, see Hölscher 2009, 54-58; and more generally Girard 1981, 237-239.
[520] Philostr. *V A* 7.24.

Iseum Campense at Rome, and I will return to the discussion of this relationship in Chapter 7 below.[521]

The 'danzatrice' – typology, iconography and material

The re-examination of the possible association between the Iseum and the six Graeco-Roman sculptures examined above makes it relevant to investigate the relationship between the Egyptian sanctuary and another 'Graeco-Roman' sculpture: the so-called *danzatrice* in the Museo del Sannio.[522] (Fig. 29) Based on a discussion of the typology, iconography and material of the *danzatrice*, I will review and elaborate on some of the arguments for an association between the Iseum and the *danzatrice*.

The statue represents the left side of a female torso, the waist, and the slightly advanced left leg until the knee. The statue wears a long, translucent chiton retained at the hip by a double drawstring belt leaving her left shoulder bare. A *himation* drapes around the back of the sculpture and partly covers the left arm. Scholars variously describe the material of the sculpture as basalt, *granito/marmo bigio* and *calcare grigio*.[523]

Figure 29

Typologically the *danzatrice* belongs to a sculptural type representing heavily draped women in forward striding or dancing motion. Whatever the form of the original monument the type was very popular and frequently reproduced in statuary as well as in relief sculpture during the Roman imperial period. The extant statues primarily stem from different contexts in Rome and Italy as well as North Africa, Greece and Asia Minor. In a recent evaluation of the contextual evidence of the statues in '*marmo bigio*' (representing only a small part of part of the total number of replicas), Zevi emphasises that these statues often decorated public buildings of imperial patronage, imperial residences, or similar urban contexts (theatres,

[521] The importance of this ideological relationship between Isis, Minerva and Domitian is further emphasised by evidence from the great Iseum of Regio III on the Oppian hill in Rome and from the Iseum at Pompeii; see Chapter 7, p. 186, notes 886-887 below; moreover, Appendix G.

[522] MdS inv. 493, H. 1.08 m (the find-spot is unknown); Rotili 1967, 11 ['Nike']; Lauro 1978, 207, Tav. 7a; Rausa 1997, 45; Gregarek 1999, 234 (D139); Zevi 2002, 304; Bricault 2006, 95; Bragantini 2007, 23-24.

[523] Rotili 1967, 11 [*granito bigio*]; Lauro 1978, 207 [*calcare grigio*]; Rausa 1997, 52, n. 86 [*marmo bigio*]; Gregarek 1999, 234, D139 [*basalt*]; Schneider 2002, 96 [*basalt*]. As suggested above, the statue is probably carved from *bigio antico*, i.e., a marble of non-Egyptian origin, see Chapter 5, 'Polychrome marbles', above.

sanctuaries, baths) associated with the upper levels of Roman society.[524] (Appendix E1-4) There is no scholarly consensus concerning the form or date of the prototype. However, most recent studies seem to agree on a Hellenistic model of the second century BC adapting elements of a statue of the Classical period, i.e., especially the so-called Aphrodite Louvre-Naples in the Louvre.[525]

With the statue of the Beneventan *danzatrice* as my point of departure the following discussion will focus on a significant group of often over life-seize replicas combining dark stone for the clothes with white marble for the exposed parts of the body. This playful use of contrasting colours resembles the technique used for acrolithic statues. However, replicas in different white marbles also exist.[526]

The bichrome group presently consists of ca. 10 replicas whereof most, including the replica in the Museo del Sannio, seem to date from the second century AD.[527] (Appendix E1) Generally, the identification of the type has proven difficult and the scholarly literature variously describes them as Maenads, Dancers, Nymphs, Terpsichore (the Muse of music and dance) or simply '*donne desiderabili*'. When associated with a goddess scholars have variously suggested Venus, Victoria, Fortuna, Diana and Isis.[528]

With regard to the possible identification of the Beneventan *danzatrice*, it is tempting, as already suggested by Adamo Muscettola, to associate the replicas of the bichrome *danzatrice*-type (Appendix E1) with another sculptural type representing '*Isis à la voile*'. That is, Isis in her role as the mistress of the winds, the inventor of navigation and the protectress of sailors.[529] (Appendix E2)

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[524] Zevi 2002, 303-304; see also Herkenrath 1905, 249-254; Guerrini 1959-1960, 403-407; Bieber 1977, 47; Lauro 1978, 207-208; Karanastassis 1986, 238-243, 254-256; Rausa 1997, 44-45; Gregarek 1999, 50-51, 90-92; Schneider 2002, 96;. For depictions on relief sculpture, see LIMC III.1, 53, nos. 19-21; Gullini 1953, 141-162; Touchette 1995.

[525] Gregarek 1999, 90-92; Schneider 2002, 96. Scholars consider the Aphrodite Louvre-Naples (Musée du Louvre, inv. MR 367/Ma 525, H. 1.64 m.) to be a Roman copy of a Greek bronze original by Callimachus created ca. 420-400 BC; see LIMC II.1, 34; LIMC VIII.1, 196-198; Brinke 1991; 1996, 7-64; moreover, Herkenrath 1905, 245-249; Guerrini 1959-1960, 407-419; Bieber 1977, 46-47; Fleischer 1981/1983, 128-137; Karanastassis 1986, 211-217. This type was rarely used for portrait statues, see Brinke 1996, 16-17; Alexandridis 2004, 84-88, 222 (Anhang 2.2.2). Other scholars see references to different Classical and Hellenistic sculptures of Nike, e.g., the Nike of Paionios (ca. 425 - 421 BC), the Nikai on the parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike (ca. 410 BC), and especially the Nike of Samothrace (2nd century BC); Linfert 1998, 387; Agnoli 2002, 34; Zevi and Valeri 2004, 131.

[526] See, e.g., Karanastassis 1986, 254, Taf. 63.3 [Tripoli]; moreover, Rausa 1997, 44; Zevi 2002, 303. For the evidence of relief sculpture (marble sarcophagi, panels, antefixes, Campana plaques, Arretine ware), see Touchette 1995, 32.

[527] For a list of replicas, see Rausa 1997; 44-45, 54 and Schneider 2002, 96. For a group of related statues using the same bichrome technique, see Appendix E3; moreover, Zevi 2002, 302-304.

[528] Rotili 1967, 11 [Nike]; Lauro 1978, 208 [Fortuna, Isis, Victoria]; Paribeni 1991, 129 [Artemis]; Rausa 1997, 45 [*Terpsichore/Venus*]; Gregarek 1999, 90-92 [*Mänaden, Tänzerinnen und Nymphen*]; Schneider 2002, 96 [*donne desiderabili*]; Bricault 2006, 95 [Fortuna].

[529] Adamo Muscettola 1998, 552-553 links the sculptures of Isis-Pelagia-Fortuna in Ostia and Palestrina (Appendix E2) with the 'dancing' statues in Beneventum and Munich (Appendix E1); see also Zevi 2002, 302-304. The most recent overview of the 'Isis à la voile'-type is Bricault 2006, 86-99; see also Malaise 2005, 141-149; Nuzzo 2006, 79 (II.4.).

As a marine goddess, Isis carried different epithets: *Euploia*, 'good for sailing/fair', *Pelagia*, 'of the sea', and *Pharia*, 'of Pharos', i.e., the island off the coast of Alexandria.[530]

Scholars generally agree that an iconographic type representing a forward striding woman grasping a billowing sail in her outstretched hands while a mantle sometimes blows out behind her back reflects this aspect of Isis. Several variants of the type are known from representations on coins, gems, seals, lamps, engraved glass and reliefs.[531] However, none of the freestanding statues retains clear traces of a billowing sail, and scholars, headed by Ph. Bruneau, have therefore questioned the existence of such a sculptural type.[532]

This raises the important question about the evidence for the existence of prototypes as well as the relationship between these often lost and sometimes imagined prototypes and their extant replicas. I shall not engage in a detailed discussion of these issues here.[533] In the case of the *danzatrice*- and the *Isis à la voile*-types there are many apparent recurring traits, but at the same time, there are also significant differences among the extant replicas. This situation suggests that not just *one* Greek (Hellenistic) prototype but *a number* of models were available to the Roman sculptors and their patrons. The statues of the dancing and striding women - regardless of their possible identification as Isis - are expressions of the complex relationship between Greek (Hellenistic) and Roman art, between selective imitation, creative innovation and personal choices on behalf of the Roman sculptors, searching for the appropriate balance between the content, material and style of a given statue and its final setting.[534]


Figure 30

Prototype or not, a tentative solution to the problem addressed by Bruneau would be to associate the two sculptural types described above. In particular, three statues identified as Isis *Pelagia* from Palestrina, Porto and Pozzuoli (Fig. 30) in *marmo bigio* with exposed body parts in white marble would adapt well with the bichrome *danzatrice*-type.[535] Likewise, the

[530] Bricault 2006, 37-42, 101-110. Concerning the epithet '*Pharia*', scholars generally see it as a geographic reference, i.e., 'of Pharos' implicitly 'of Alexandria or Egypt', but it cannot be excluded that it referred to a functional quality, i.e., the 'Pharos' or lighthouse as an aid to navigation for pilots at sea, see Malaise 2005, 145-149; 2007, 32.
[531] Bricault 2006, 66-71; LIMC V.1, 782-784, 794. The majority of the evidence date to the second-fourth century AD.
[532] Bruneau 1974, 333-381. For this scholarly debate, see most recently Bricault 2006, 86-99.
[533] For the fruitless '*quest for a common prototype*' for the multiple representations of Isis, see Bianchi 2007, 494. On the concept of '*Kopienkritik*' in general, see Gazda 2002, 4-8; Perry 2005, 78-90; Trimble and Elsner 2006, 202-206.
[534] For the relationship between the *content* and *style* of a sculpture and its context, see, among others, Hölscher 2004, 74-82, 98-100 and the contributions by Gazda, Perry and Roccos in Gazda 2002.
[535] The four remaining sculptures of the '*Isis à la voile*'-type in white marble fit the general iconographic type of the forward striding or dancing female with heavily draped and flowing *himation*; see Appendix E2.

over-life-size dimensions of the three Isis statues would fit well with the size of the majority of the replicas normally associated with the *danzatrice*-type. The over life-size dimensions also emphasise the possible divine aspect and identification of the statues. (Appendix E1-2)

However, a conspicuous difference between these statues and the two types in general is the more pronounced forward striding movement of the statues associated with the *Isis à la voile*-type. The statue from Porto not only advances but also raises and supports her left leg on a now lost element worked in white marble in one piece together with the feet of the statue. Scholars have tentatively identified this lost element or attribute with a rock, but, from an Isiac point of view, a globe would also be a possibility.[536]

Generally, the iconography of the *Isis à la voile*-type is closely related to that of Isis-Fortuna, holding a cornucopia and a ship's rudder. Indeed, it seems likely that the widespread iconography of Isis-Fortuna included the marine aspect of *Isis à la voile*.[537] Moreover, as suggested by Bricault, the cornucopia of Isis-Fortuna as a symbol of abundance might allude to the *annona*, i.e., the grain supply shipped from Alexandria to the city of Rome via the ports in Puteoli and Portus.[538]

Based on this brief survey of the typology and iconography of statues representing dancing and striding women, we may tentatively suggest that the statue of the *danzatrice* in the Museo del Sannio represents Isis-Fortuna and that it formed part of the sculptural decoration of the Iseum – although, of course, this cannot be positively determined.[539] At first sight, the geographic inland position of Beneventum would seem to contradict the presence of this marine aspect of the goddess. In fact, however, Müller suggested that Isis *Pelagia* was the patron goddess of the pre-Domitianic Iseum at Beneventum. Müller based this assumption on the evidence of one of the sculptures found at the Lombard city wall representing a boat with the two forward striding feet of Isis *Pelagia* (?) as well as on the strategic position of Beneventum as a way station leading to important seaports, e.g.,

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[536] Bricault 2006, 94-95. For Pompeian wall paintings with representations of Isis-Fortuna resting her raised right leg on a globe with a rudder leaning against it, see Tran tam Tinh 1964, 134, 147-148, nos. 27 and 58-59; LIMC V.1, 776-777, 786, nos. 210 and 314; *Egittomania* 2006, 184-185, no. III.50.

[537] Malaise 1972a, 181; Bruneau 1974, 381.

[538] Bricault 2000, 140-141; 2006, 95; Malaise 2005, 143-145. For the continued links between Pozzuoli and the *annona* well into the second century AD, see D'Arms 1974, 104-105, 120. For the general development and organisation of the '*cura annonae*' see, *DNP*, vol. 3, cols. 234-237.

[539] Bricault 2006, 95, reaches a similar conclusion, see also Rausa 1997, 54; Zevi 2002, 304. Based on the provenance of a *danzatrice* from Perge, found in the Stoa of Claudius Peison in the South Baths (Appendix E1), it has also been suggested that the Beneventan *danzatrice* belonged to the sculptural decoration of a bath complex. Maenads and Dancers are traditionally associated with Bacchus and his entourage and bacchanalian sculptures are among the most frequent in Roman imperial bath complexes, see Bragantini 2007, 24, 27 n. 19; moreover, Manderscheid 1981, 31-32. On the South Baths of Perge, see Abbasoglu 2001, 180-182; on the Beneventan bath complex/palaestra near Piazza Cardinal Pacca, see Giampaola 1994, 658; Torelli 2002, 215, n. 172. See also Appendix E5 for a list of statues of the Aphrodite Louvre-Naples type found in contexts related to Isis and/or Magna Mater.

Puteoli and Brundisium.[540] Moreover, it seems possible, as argued by Bricault, that there was a connection between the representations of Isis-Fortuna/*Pelagia* and the seaborne *annona*.[541]

We do not know whether the Iseum played a role in the redistribution of grain and other Egyptian commodities at Beneventum. However, the statues of Isis-Fortuna/*Pelagia* as well as the inscription on the Domitianic obelisks show that the people of Beneventum worshipped Isis as a goddess generating victories, prosperity and salvation. Hence, as already mentioned, the divine patronage of Isis (and Serapis) secured the successful outcome of the Judaean and Dacian Wars, including the safe *return* of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian.[542] The inscription on the obelisks emphasises this universal aspect of Isis by addressing her '*Lady of Beneventum*' and '*Great Isis, mother of the gods, Sothis, Lord of heaven and earth and the underworld.*'[543]

Finally, I will briefly discuss some of the literary and archaeological evidence suggesting an association between Isis and the colour black. As we have seen above, the *danzatrice* (Isis-Fortuna) belongs to a group of sculptures combining black and white marbles. (Appendix E1-4) However, what other reasons, besides purely aesthetic ones, might explain especially the black material and bichrome style of these statues?[544]

Based on the tentative identification of some of the statues as Isis (Fortuna-*Pelagia*), scholars have associated the choice of the black marble with a passage in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius describing the appearance of the goddess as she reveals herself to the protagonist, Lucius.[545] Apuleius describes the *palla* of the goddess in the following way: '*But the one characteristic of this garment which held my attention for a very long time was its long, wide blackest-coloured palla which was resplendent in its black lustrous sheen. […] Stars, glistening everywhere, were scattered*

[540] Müller 1969, 19-21, 83-85, no. 279; contra Bruneau 1974, 369-370, who, based on the inland position of Beneventum, rejects the idea of a cult of Isis *Pelagia*. Recently (2002), however, a statue of Isis *Pelagia* was found in the theatre of Messene, located inland on the Peloponnesian Peninsula, see Bricault 2006, 92, 95-96; see also the statue of Isis-Tyche/Isis Pelagia from the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina (Appendix E2). For the chronological phases of the Iseum, see the 'Summary', p. 114-115 below.

[541] The connection between Isis and the *annona* is particularly evident from the second century AD onwards; see Bricault 2000, 136-149. Ensoli 2000, 273-277, convincingly argues for a connection between the Iseum Campense and the storage, sale, and re-distribution of the *annona* in Rome; see also Chapters 3 and 7. In an inscription from Alexandria, Faustina Minor, the wife of Marcus Aurelius (AD 161-180), is entitled Faustina *Pharia*, *Sôsistolos*, i.e., Faustina '*of Pharos*, *Protector of the grain fleet*'; see Bernard and Bernard 1998, 97-101.

[542] See Chapter 4 and the section on 'The obelisks of the Iseum' above.

[543] There is little evidence of privately initiated cult activities related to the Beneventan Iseum, i.e., inscriptions, ex-votos etc., see *RICIS* 505/0801-0804; note, however, the evidence of the dedications to Minerva *Berecynthia*, see p. 91-94 above; moreover, Müller 1969, 67, no. 268.

[544] On the chronology, availability, distribution and use of the '*Neri antichi*' see Chapter 4, 'Polychrome marbles', above.

[545] Gatti 1997, 333; Gregarek 1999, 142; Agnoli 2002, 36; Schneider 2002, 99.

all along the embroidered border of this palla and everywhere else on its fabrica. These stars were designed around a full moon in their centre, which emitted flaming rays.'[546]

Other literary and archaeological evidence seems to support the association between Isis and the colour black. In two requests for dream oracles addressed to the 'dim-sighted Bes' recorded in the Greek Magical Papyri, Isis is associated with a black cloth, which, in this case, appears to protect the performer of the ritual '*so that he* [i.e., Bes] *will not smite you*'.[547] In Egyptian texts, the hieroglyphic sign for Isis is sometime followed by the attributive adjective '*km*', i.e., 'black' and, as mentioned above, the Egyptians referred to their land as '*kemet*', i.e., 'the black land'.[548] According to Plutarch, the Egyptians regarded '*[…] the Nile as the effusion of Osiris […]*' and '*[…] the earth to be the body of Isis, not all of it, but so much of it as the Nile covers, fertilizing it and uniting with it.*' Plutarch also says that one of the rituals of the *Inventio Osiridis* included the shrouding of a cow with a black linen vestment as a sign of Isis' mourning over her dead husband.[549]

Besides the sculptural evidence of the *danzatrice*- and the *Isis à la voile*-types discussed above (Appendix E1-2), the archaeological evidence suggesting an association between Isis and the colour black is restricted to a group of Isis statues of the so-called the *Knotenpalla* and *Diplax*-types (Appendix E4),[550] as well as a few wall paintings from Herculaneum and Pompeii.[551] These wall paintings represent Isis – her priestesses, or participants in the cult (?) – draped in a black *palla*. Often the *palla* is folded over – and sometimes flattened – along its length forming a kind of shawl or scarf crossing the breast of the depicted figures. This is also the case with the *palla* of the female figure depicted on a fragmentary second century AD mosaic from Antioch.[552]

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[546] Apul. *Met.* 11.3-4, transl. Bianchi 2007, 490-491. On Apuleius' description of the *palla* and its possible relationship to visual representations of Isis, see Bianchi 2007, 490-493. Although the sculptural evidence is rare, Isis and in some cases her priestesses are depicted in star- and moon-spangled robes and *pallae* in other media, see Grimm 1975, 24, no. 41, Taf. 78-79 [kneeling figure of Isis depicted on an early imperial linen tunic from Saqqara, now in Cairo, inv. J.E. 59117]; Eingartner 1991, 163-164, no. 135, Taf. 83 [early Antonine grave relief of the Isis priestess Galatea in the Vatican, Loggia Scoperta, inv. 840]; Levi 1947, 49-50 [second century AD mosaic from Antioch]. The basalt statuette of Isis-Urania in the Louvre, inv. MNE 439, H. 0.172 m wears a tunic decorated with stars and small circles, the *palla*, however, is undecorated; Gregarek 1999, 197, C23. A statuette of Aphrodite-Urania in dark grey marble from the House of Theseus in Nea Paphos, F.R. 32/67, is dressed in a chiton and a star-decorated *himation*. Like Isis, Aphrodite Urania was connected with navigation and the protection of sailors at Paphos; Daszewski 1968, 54-56. I thank J. Fejfer for this reference.

[547] Preisendanz 1974, vol. II, 10-11, PGM VII.222-249 (3rd cent. AD), 48-50, PGM VIII.64-110 (4th or 5th cent. AD); Betz 1992, 122-123, 147-148; Eitrem 1991, 178.

[548] Erman and Grapow 1971, vol. V, 123; moreover, Chapter 5, 'Dark-coloured Egyptian stones', above.

[549] Plut. *Mor. De Is. et Os.* 366A (the quote) and 366E.

[550] For the *Knotenpalla* and *Diplax*-types, see Eingartner 1991, 10-33.

[551] Tran tam Tinh 1964, 74-75, cat. nos. 13, 17 and 47; 1971, 29-42, cat. nos. 58 and 59; see also *Iside* 1997, 447 (V.77); *Egittomania* 2006, 111 (II.51, 1.75), 127 (II.87).

[552] Levi 1942, 30-31; 1947, 49-50, (Daphne-Yakto, Area 117, Pls. 8b), for the date of the mosaic, see p. 625-626.

On this basis, we might speculate that the *bigi antichi* of the bichrome statues representing Isis reflect the mythological association between the goddess and the fertile 'black' Nile mud, i.e., that there was a relationship between the colour of the stone and the content (and subject matter) of the statues.[553] However, as emphasised in Chapter 5, the choice of material also depended on practical considerations, such as the workability, availability and cost of the stone. Moreover, it seems likely that the bichrome technique of the statues was intended to create a visual allusion to acrolithic cult statues.[554]

Summary: sculpture, style and the visual appearance of the Beneventan Iseum

In this chapter, I have argued for a more critical and nuanced approach to understanding the sculptural programme of the Flavian Iseum at Beneventum. Since the appearance of Müller's authoritative monograph on the cult of Isis at Beneventum in 1969, scholars have continuously emphasised the distinctive and, in many ways, exceptional Egyptian look of the sanctuary. However, as argued above, there is good evidence to suggest that not only a *religious* association but also a *visual* juxtaposition of the sculptural representations of the Graeco-Roman and Egyptian deities took place within the Beneventan Iseum. Thus, the idea of the Flavian sanctuary as '*[…] ein Tempel mit rein ägyptischem Statuenensemble […]*' has to be abandoned.[555]

The unknown location of the Iseum and the casual nature of the finds have contributed to the creation of the 'Egyptian' image of the Flavian Iseum. Besides the Domitianic cult of Isis *Lady of Beneventum*, Müller suggested the existence of two additional cults at Beneventum: a late Republican/Hellenistic cult of Isis *Pelagia* and a second century AD (Hadrianic?) cult of Osiris-Canopus and Isis Menouthis.[556] Based on epigraphic evidence as well as on the chronology and style of the sculptures, Müller assumed that these cults were performed in three different sanctuaries. Hence, the Graeco-Roman-styled sculptures were associated with a Hellenistic sanctuary – perhaps

[553] Note in this connection the non-Egyptian link suggested by Lauro 1978, 211 and Agnoli 2002, 31-40, who in the search for the religious and stylistic origin of the statue of Isis-Fortuna in Palestrina see strong influences from the Aegean and Asia Minor, i.e., the principal locations for quarries of 'bigio antico'. Generally, scholars date the statue to the late second century BC, however, the use of *bigio antico* only becomes widespread in Rome during the Flavian period; Lauro 1978, 204-206, Gregarek 1999, 198, C29, Agnoli 2002, 39-40; Zevi 2002, 304; Varner 2006, 1.
[554] Gregarek 1999, 147-148, 151-152; Belli Pasqua 2007, 156. On the 'visual' relationship between the dark-coloured stones and black patinated bronze, see also Chapter 5, 'Polychrome marbles', above.
[555] Müller 1969, 22-23, 26; quotation from Hölbl 2000, 35. Important reservations on some of Müller's conclusions are expressed by Pirelli and Bragantini in *Il culto di Iside a Beneventum* (2007), however, the accompanying catalogue of the sculptures uncritically repeats that of Müller.
[556] At Canopus and Menouthis, cult centres located immediately east of Alexandria, Osiris and Isis were worshipped as oracular and healing deities in the form of human-headed vessels, so-called Canopic Jars; see Appendix H below.

the forerunner of the Flavian Iseum, which Müller, as outlined above, located in the area of the Cathedral of *Santa Maria Assunta*.[557] Müller assigned the majority of the Egyptian-styled sculptures to the 'second', i.e., Flavian, sanctuary, while only a few of the sculptures were associated with the 'third', possibly Hadrianic, sanctuary.[558] Based on the evidence of a dedication to C. Umbrius Eudrastus, commemorating the building of a 'Canopus', set up by a *collegium Martensium infraforanum* (a guild devoted to Mars, meeting somewhere below the Forum), Müller suggested that this 'third', post-Flavian, sanctuary was located somewhere in the area of the Forum or Theatre of Beneventum.[559]

Müller's analysis is based on eminent first-hand knowledge of the chronology and style of the Beneventan sculptures. However, the analysis – knowingly or unknowingly – is also characterised by a distinction between the Graeco-Roman and Egyptian-styled sculptures and materials. Hence, the 'white' Graeco-Roman sculptures are assigned to a sanctuary in 'Hellenistic' style, while the 'black' Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures are assigned to a sanctuary in 'Egyptian' style. Based on the sculptural layout of other contemporary Romano-Egyptian sanctuaries, e.g., the Flavian *Isea* of Rome and Pompeii, there is, however, no need to reconstruct three chronologically distinct and stylistically 'pure' cult places. It seems more likely that the Egyptian (and Graeco-Roman) deities were worshipped in *aediculae* or at altars located within the same religious complex.[560] Moreover, as we have seen, the evidence of a group of Graeco-Roman sculptures and architectural elements found on the same occasion as the majority of the *aegyptiaca* in 1903 was completely ignored in Müller's reconstruction of the sculptural layout of the sanctuary (-ies).

As discussed in the Introduction (Chapter 1), the danger of Müller's approach is, of course, that it may lead to a preferential treatment of Egyptian-styled objects at the expense of Graeco-

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[557] MdS, inv. 1917 [forward striding figure on a boat], MdS, inv. 1908 [Apis bull], MdS, inv. 1923, 1925, 1928 [kneeling worshippers], see Müller 1969, 21-23, 25-26, 70-71 (no. 270), 83-85 (no. 279), 99-101 (no. 285), 104-105 (no. 287), 108 (no. 290).

[558] MdS, inv. 1922 [priests carrying an image of Isis Menouthis (?)], MdS, inv. 1926 [priests carrying an image of Osiris-Canopus], MdS, inv. 1924 [priest wearing a fringed robe], see Müller 1969, 95-98 (no. 284), 106 (no. 288), 102-104 (no. 286). According to Müller 1969, 96, the priests carrying images of Osiris/Isis-Canopus differs from the sculptures of the Flavian period '*[…] durch die Sicherheit der bildhauerischen Ausführung und durch ihren spiegelnden Schliff der Oberflächen. […] Die rundliche Körperlichkeit […] sind am ehesten mit der Auffassung des Körpers und der Falten an Skulpturen hadrianischer Zeit in Verbindung zu bringen.'* Because of the superior workmanship, Müller attributed these statues to an Alexandrian workshop.

[559] *CIL* IX, 1685; *RICIS* 505/0804, the inscription is dated to the 2nd-3rd century AD; Müller 1969, 22, 25-26, 28, 36, n. 94; moreover, Pirelli 2007, 11-12. Zazo 1951, 62, suggested a location of the 'Canopus' near the Roman theatre.

[560] Pirelli 1997, 378-379; 2007, 11-13; 16; on our modern understanding of artistic and cultural traditions as something 'pure', see Hallett 2005, 301-304 and the section on the 'Graeco-Roman sculptures' above. On the Flavian *Isea* of Pompeii and Rome, see Adamo Muscettola 1992, 63-75 (Pompeii) and Chapter 7 below (Rome).

Roman objects, giving the Iseum a too exclusively 'Egyptian' image.[561] One of the aims of this chapter has been to reintegrate the Graeco-Roman element in the discussion of the general appearance of the Beneventan Iseum. If we consider the 1903 discovery as a '*context without context*'[562] and adapt the notion that '*context inevitably makes a difference to how a deity is perceived and understood*',[563] I believe it can be shown that the Graeco-Roman sculptures have an important role to play in our general understanding of the nature of the Beneventan Iseum. Thus, as demonstrated above, the inclusion of the Graeco-Roman sculptures not only extends the 'stylistic' and visual horizon of the sanctuary but also re-emphasises the importance and coherence of the sanctuary in the wider political-religious ideology of the Flavian emperors.

Three goddesses in particular, Isis, Magna Mater and Minerva, held important positions during the reign of the Flavians. As we have seen, this privileged status, among other things, manifested itself in the construction and restoration of temples, the establishment or revival of joint priesthoods, and a general emphasis on the victorious and benevolent aspects of these goddesses and ultimately of the *gens Flavia* itself as guarantors of the *pax*, *securitas* and *felicitas* of the Empire. In this process, Beneventum successfully positioned itself among the cities attracting the benefits of the new rulers and their divine patronesses.

The divine identification of at least two (Juno, Minerva) and possibly four (Isis-Fortuna, Diana) of the Graeco-Roman sculptures further emphasises the general assumption that other deities besides Isis and the '*gens isiaque*' were invoked in the sanctuary. As outlined above, the universal and syncretistic character of Isis made it easy to associate her with other prominent deities, such as Minerva, Magna Mater, Juno, Ceres, and Diana. From a Flavian point of view, especially the statue of Minerva 'Vescovali' may have functioned as a link between the cult of Isis and other oriental deities at Beneventum. The Polyclitan torso and the statue of the *togatus* possibly reflect the reasonable assumption that private individuals or the town council dedicated statues within the precinct of the sanctuary. As for the evidence of the *imago clipeata*, its association with the Iseum remains questionable. At best, it might testify to a post-Flavian restoration of the sanctuary, at worst it stems from another public monument.

However, what were the reasons for this eclectic display of Egyptian and Graeco-Roman-styled sculptures – for this apparently deliberate interplay between old and new, 'black' and 'white'? Did the Egyptian imports provide the sanctuary with a touch of Egyptian authenticity - or

[561] Beard et al. 1998, 281-282.
[562] Bragantini 2007, 20.
[563] Beard et al. 1998, 280.

perhaps religious authority? As we have seen, some of the *aegyptiaca* may have reflected the rituals and public festivals of the cult. Moreover, from an ideological point of view, the *aegyptiaca* as 'units of memory',[564] referring at the same time to the present and the past, were a visually (and tangibly) forceful way for Domitian to associate himself with the *divi* Vespasian and Titus.

On the one hand, the *aegyptiaca*, materialised and, in that sense, proved the miraculous healings (and divinity) of Vespasian at Alexandria as well as the later meeting between Domitian and Vespasian at Beneventum. On the other hand, the *aegyptiaca* established a link between Vespasian and Titus' past triumph over Judaea and Domitian's contemporary triumph over the Chatti and Dacians (cf. the inscription on the obelisks, reminding us that the Iseum commemorated Domitian's safe return from a military campaign). Moreover, by creating the suggested visual association between the *aegyptiaca* and his own patron goddess, Minerva, Domitian would have added a further dimension to the use and importance of 'Egypt' in Flavian ideology. Finally, the (re-)use of Egyptian imagery, especially the obelisks, and the exclusive use of Egyptian materials established a sense of legitimate continuity between the Flavian dynasty and the Augustan/Julio-Claudian past. Indeed, the adoption of a Graeco-Roman approach not only counterbalances the traditional 'Egyptian' view of the visual appearance of the Beneventan Iseum, but also challenges our conventional understanding of its wider political-religious significance for the *gens Flavia*.

[564] Haug 2001, 115.

7. The Iseum Campense

This chapter re-examines the sculptural decoration and architectural layout of the Iseum Campense[565] at Rome. The sanctuary was rebuilt during the reign of Domitian (AD 81-96) after a devastating fire, sweeping the Capitoline Hill and the central and southern parts of the Campus Martius, under Titus in AD 80.[566] Cassius Dio describes the fire and its wide reaching effects in the following way:

'However, a second conflagration, above ground, in the following year spread over very large sections of Rome while Titus was absent in Campania attending to the catastrophe that had befallen that region. It consumed the temple of Serapis, the temple of Isis, the Saepta, the temple of Neptune, the Baths of Agrippa, the Pantheon, the Diribitorium, the theatre of Balbus, the stage building of Pompey's theatre, the Octavian buildings together with their books, and the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with their surrounding temples.' [567]

Nothing of the sanctuary is visible today, but many Graeco-Roman, egyptianising and older Pharaonic and Ptolemaic items from its sculptural decoration have survived. Several other building projects including a round temple to Minerva Chalcidica[568] and the *templum Divorum*, dedicated to Domitian's deified father Vespasian and his brother Titus, took form in the same area at the same time as the Iseum.[569]

A main objective of this chapter is to challenge the idea of the sanctuary as an isolated 'Egyptian island' in the Roman cityscape and to discuss how the Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures and architectural elements mixed and interacted with Graeco-Roman monuments. This interaction not only took place within the sanctuary itself but also involved the buildings in the immediate vicinity of the Iseum.[570] This discussion also relates to the problem of the Romanness of

[565] The Egyptian sanctuary on the Campus Martius is usually referred to as 'Iseum Campense', cf. Apul. *Met.* 11.26. Most likely the sanctuary contained an *aedes* for Isis and an *aedes* for Serapis as well as *aediculae* for other divinities although their respective locations within the precincts are disputed; Lanciani 1883a, 50-57; Roullet 1972, 27, fig. 352; Lembke 1994, 23-25; see also Gasparini 2009, 350, fig. 2.
[566] Eutr. 7.23.5; *Chron. min.* 146 M; Jer. *Ab Abr.* 2105 (p. 272-273). According to Eusebius of Caesarea, the building was completed in AD 89.
[567] Dio Cass. 66.24.1-3; the incident is also mentioned in Suet. *Tit.* 8.3-4.
[568] A fragment of the FUR (35m) known from a Renaissance drawing shows the circular plan of the temple of Minerva Chalcidica immediately south-east of the Egyptian sanctuary; *LTUR* III, 255; *Divus Vespasianus* 2009, 450-451. The temple has also been identified with the round (?) temple of Minerva depicted on an undated denarius of Domitian, see Mattingly 1930, 346, no. 241, Pl. 67.7; Darwall-Smith 1996, 125-126.
[569] Claridge 1998, 180.
[570] Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 182, explores similar ideas. Elsner 2006, 277, discusses the '*[…] isolationism of the Egyptian objects as finds […]*' and the fact that they are often '*[…] treated separately from the Hellenizing and other objects with which they once stood side by side […]*'.

Roman art and '*the Hellenocentric picture of Roman art*', which I discussed in Chapter 3 as one of the central theories informing my work.[571]

In general, the structure of this chapter follows that of the previous chapter on Beneventum, which is centred on the sculptural finds. However, because the wider topographical context of the Iseum in the southern Campus Martius is important for my argument of not viewing the sanctuary in isolation and as a site 'apart', topography will form a more important part of the analysis of the Iseum Campense. I will proceed as follows:

First, I will give an overview of the previous research on the sanctuary. Then follows a review of different methodological problems associated with the study of the Iseum Campense such as, e.g., the lack of proper archaeological excavations. Based on a description of the fragments of the Forma Urbis Romae (henceforth FUR), I discuss the topography and general layout of the sanctuary followed by an analysis of the architectural, literary and numismatic sources. I will then re-examine the role and function of the obelisks of the sanctuary and summarise the evidence of the additional Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures. Then follows a detailed review of the Graeco-Roman sculptures, emphasising the questionable distinction between a 'black' northern and a 'white' southern part of the Iseum. Finally, based on the reconstructed semantic and visual impact of the Iseum, I will reconsider its ideological role within the larger context of the Flavian building programme in the Campus Martius.

Brief research history

The research history of the Iseum Campense covers several centuries.[572] Many of the objects, which once belonged to the sculptural decoration of the Iseum Campense, were discovered during the Middle Ages and details concerning precisely when and where found have not been recorded. (Diagram B6) It is thus primarily the Egyptian or egyptianising nature of the objects or their secondary location in the immediate proximity of the Iseum, which connects them to the sanctuary.

The Renaissance scholar Flavio Biondo authored the first modern description of the area mentioning the Iseum Campense in his work *De Roma instaurata* between 1444 and 1446. During the 16th century, different scholars describe the discovery of various objects in the area among others the famous statues of the Tiber and the Nile found in 1512 and 1513. In 1666, Athanasius Kirchner published the first reconstruction of the architectural layout and sculptural decoration of the

[571] Elsner 2006, 276.
[572] For a detailed account, Lembke 1994, 15-17.

Iseum based on the previous discoveries and the new finds made in 1642 during a renovation of the Dominican Monastery.[573]

During the 19th century, several Egyptian and egyptianising objects came to light during the renovation of two houses located behind the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, i.e., in the Via del Beato Angelico.[574] These discoveries caused Rodolfo Lanciani to carry out actual archaeological excavations in the street during the summer of 1883.[575] Subsequently different hypothetical reconstructions of the sanctuary were published. In 1903, Chr. Hülsen was able to publish a reliable reconstruction of the southern part of the sanctuary, i.e., the exedra and court, based on fragments of the FUR.[576]

Additional discoveries were made during the 20th century. The most recent excavations were carried out in 1980-1981 by the eastern entrance arch, i.e., the Arco di Camilliano,[577] and in 1987 the fortuitous discovery of three Ptolemaic sculptures in the Cortile Grande of the Palazzo del Seminario, caused the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma to carry out excavations in this area from 1991-1993.[578]

Important contributions on the Iseum Campense were published by G. Gatti in 1943/1944; M. Malaise in 1972; A. Roullet in 1972; F. Coarelli in 1982 and most recently in the significant monograph from 1994 by Katja Lembke, which compiles previous research and examines all relevant literary and archaeological sources. Lembke's work forms an invaluable resource for all further studies of the Iseum. Lembke argues that the layout of the Iseum as depicted on the Severan FUR, generally, reflects the original Flavian design of the Iseum; that the *aegyptiaca* were located in the northern part of the sanctuary separated from the Graeco-Roman styled sculptures in the southern part; and that Egyptian cults and cult practices in Rome were closely linked to the ancient Egyptian cult practices.

The monograph gave rise to a renewed scholarly debate on the Iseum Campense. Alternative interpretations of the chronology, general layout as well as the overall implications of the *aegyptiaca* for the Romano-Egyptian relations including Roman and Egyptian art and religion were published in the form of long review articles,[579] entries in exhibition catalogues[580] as well as

[573] Kircher 1666, 7.
[574] Canina 1852; Henzen 1856; Henzen and Ampère 1858.
[575] Lanciani 1883; 1883a.
[576] Hülsen 1903.
[577] Laurenti 1985.
[578] Alfano 1992a; Alfano 1998; *Cleopatra Roma* 2000, IV.48-52.
[579] Versluys 1997; Eingartner 1999.
[580] Sist 1997, 297-305; Ensoli 2000, 273-282; Quack 2005, 398-401; Gasparini 2008a, 102-106; 2009, 349-351.

contributions to various anthologies,[581] congress proceedings,[582] and monographs[583]. The list of works mentioned here is far from exhaustive but highlights some of the most important and recent contributions to the scholarly debate concerning the Iseum Campense.

Methodological problems

The current state of research on the Iseum Campense thus seems to reflect what Eingartner incisively described as a big 'Spielraum für Interpretationen'.[584] This scholarly latitude is a sign of the both challenging and complicated nature of the archaeological and historical sources connected to the Iseum. However, consensus has been reached on important issues such as the general layout as well as the 'Egyptian' character of the sanctuary.

One of the main problems with the sanctuary, which led Eingartner to describe the situation as a 'Spielraum für Interpretationen' is the lack of proper archaeological excavations. Diagram B6 is a graphic rendering of the distribution of the objects on the year/century of discovery. The diagram illustrates the fact that most of the objects found in this area are the result of general construction activity and not actual archaeological excavations. The area is densely built-on, which generally make archaeological investigations difficult. Sadly, important cultural layers have been destroyed within recent years in connection with intense rebuilding and renovating activities in the area.[585]

Since the Middle Ages, Egyptian, egyptianising and Graeco-Roman sculptures have been found in the central part of the Campus Martius where, according to the FUR, the Iseum was located. Although, in many cases, the archaeological context of the individual finds is unknown, it is beyond doubt, however, that Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures as well as other decorative egyptianising elements formed part of the Iseum's decoration. Because of this 'Egyptian' character of the Iseum, there has been a tendency among scholars to associate almost automatically any Egyptian sculpture found in Rome with the sanctuary. We should be aware that this problem might distort the relationship between the 'Graeco-Roman' and 'Egyptian' decorative elements of the sanctuary. Thus, even when found in the area, Graeco-Roman sculptures would not necessarily have

[581] Brenk 2007 [1999]; 2007a [2003]; Scheid 2004, 308-311; 2009, 173-185.
[582] Alfano 1998, 177-206; Ensoli 1998, 407-438.
[583] Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 175-182; Versluys 2002, 353-355.
[584] Eingartner 1999, 38.
[585] Alfano 1992, 42-43; 1998, 177-180.

been associated with the Iseum. A similar situation was detected in the case of the Iseum at Beneventum.[586]

Lanciani mentions as a further factor likely to have affected the ratio between the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman sculptures, namely, the medieval limekiln 'della Pigna'. This limekiln, active at least until the end of the 15th century, was located in the nearby Piazza di Sant'Andrea and, according to Lanciani, was provided with marble from the Baths of Agrippa and the Iseum.[587] He describes how: '*The whole area of the Iseum, save a few recesses, has been explored since the Middle Ages, but the search was made to secure marble, which could be burnt into lime, or turned into new shapes. Of what use would porphyry, or granite, or basalt be for such purposes? These materials are useless for the limekiln, and too hard to be worked anew, and accordingly they were left alone.*'[588] However, as we will see, the above-mentioned problems as well as the general problem of dating the Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures, addressed several times above,[589] do not affect my main argument about the active appropriation of Graeco-Roman sculptures into the Iseum.

My own re-examination of the material is based on Lembke's exhaustive catalogue and on Alfano's preliminary publication of some of the finds made between 1991-1993.[590] I include only the architectural and sculptural objects that without reasonable doubt can be associated with the sanctuary, i.e., found, or as the obelisks and a number of other monumental egyptianising sculptures historically closely connected to the area of the sanctuary. Bearing the above-mentioned methodological problems in mind, the material that I include in my analysis adds up to a 131 objects of which all the relevant documentation for provenance, year of discovery etc. can be found in Appendix B.

The location of the Iseum

The Iseum Campense was situated in the central part of the Campus Martius, the low-lying, frequently inundated, flood plain between a bend of the Tiber to the north-west, the Quirinal Hill to the east, and the Capitoline Hill to the south-east. During the Republican period, the open pasture of the Campus

[586] See Chapter 5, 'Methodological problems', above. This problem is addressed in Beard et al. 1998, 281-282; see also Hallett 2005, 295-307; Davies 2011, 354-370. The practice, whether conscious or unconscious, has a self-reinforcing effect: the more 'Egyptian' sculptures associated with the *Isea* of Beneventum and the Campus Martius the easier it is to associate more. The image of the sanctuaries thus becomes too exclusively 'Egyptian', yet, the re-constructed image is likely to reflect post-Napoleonic and modern aesthetics more than Roman ones.
[587] Lanciani 1902-1912, *vol. I,* 21, 25.
[588] Lanciani 1967, 98.
[589] See the Introduction and Chapter 5 above.
[590] Lembke 1994; Alfano 1998; see also *Cleopatra Roma*, 260, nos. IV. 41-42, 264-266, nos. IV. 48-52.

Martius was used for military training and exercises, public meetings, voting assemblies and, every five years, the taking of the census. It was here too, i.e., outside the *pomerium* that the army and its victorious generals would assemble before a triumph. In late Republican and imperial times, the various public and military functions of the Campus Martius gradually lost importance and the character of the area changed. The Campus became the centre of display and competition among the late republican leaders of Rome (e.g., Pompey, Caesar, and Octavian) and large public buildings such as theatres, porticoes, baths, temples, and mausolea were erected.[591] In the imperial period, the emperors continued to develop the area, which was rapidly populated.[592]

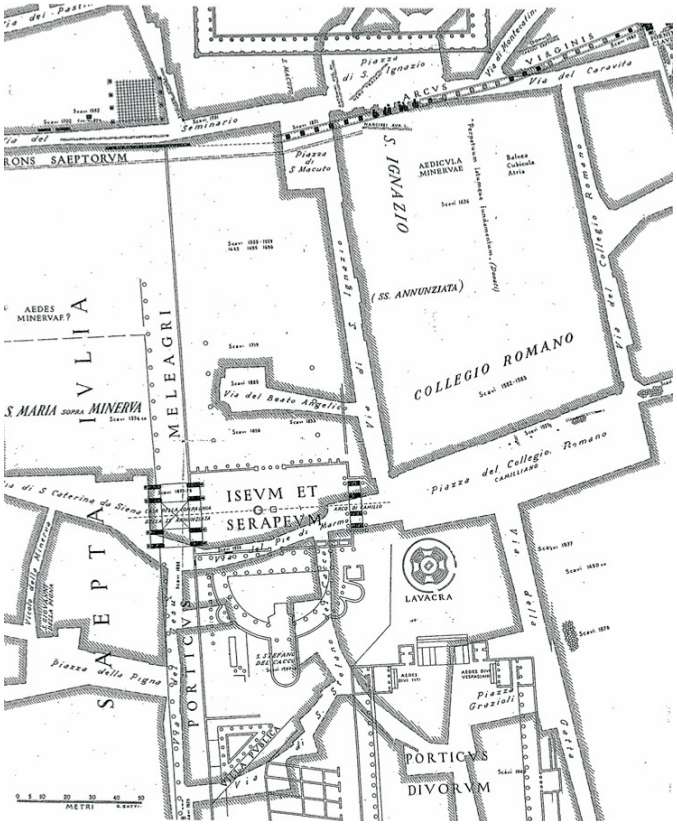

Figure 31

The Campus Martius formed the heart of the late antique, medieval, and renaissance city and it is still densely inhabited today. Thus, the northern part of the area of the Iseum, also known as the '*Insula Domenicana*', is partly built over by the basilica of S. Maria sopra Minerva and the adjacent former buildings of the Dominican Monastery of the Minerva.[593] (Figs. 31-32) The building stock of the southern part of the area is dominated by the church of S. Stefano del Cacco and a traversing street, i.e., the Via del Piè di Marmo. Because the area is so densely built-on, the monumentality of the complex can be difficult to visualize. In total the area of the Egyptian sanctuary covered ca. 220 m N-S x 70 m E-W, i.e., 15.400m², a dimension which is perhaps best compared to

[591] Cf. Strabo 5.3.8.
[592] For the Campus Martius and its development see generally, Claridge 1998, 177-181; Richardson 1992, 65-67.
[593] Since 1988/2003, the '*insula dominicana*' houses the Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati and the Biblioteca del Senato (Via del Seminario 76). Another part of the complex has since the late 17th century been occupied by the Biblioteca Casanatense (Via di Sant' Ignazio 52); see, http://biblioteca.camera.it/4?testo_biblioteca=4, 26/2/14.

the size of the Serapeum in Alexandria[594] or one of the imperial fora in Rome.[595] In its time, it must have been an impressive building.

As noted above, the discovery of the many architectural and sculptural objects of the Iseum Campense is scattered over several centuries. Yet, the majority of these objects were discovered within a relatively restricted area. This area is outlined towards the north by the present Via del Seminario and the Piazza di S. Macuto; towards the south by the Via di S. Stefano del Cacco; towards the east by the Via di Sant' Ignazio and towards the west by the Via del Gesù. (Figs. 31-32)

In the following sections, I will briefly introduce the FUR before examining the five fragments of the plan related to the Iseum Campense. Due to the lack of systematic excavations, the fragments of the FUR have proven fundamental for our understanding of the location and general layout of the sanctuary. It is important to remember that the FUR provides us with a view of the topographical situation of the Iseum as it appeared at the beginning of the third century AD. It is, however, disputed whether this layout generally reflects the Flavian (Domitianic) reconstruction of the Iseum,[596] or includes one or more post-Flavian, possibly Hadrianic and Severan, modifications and restorations.[597] I therefore supplement the data of the FUR with a discussion of the architectural remains and the literary and numismatic evidence.

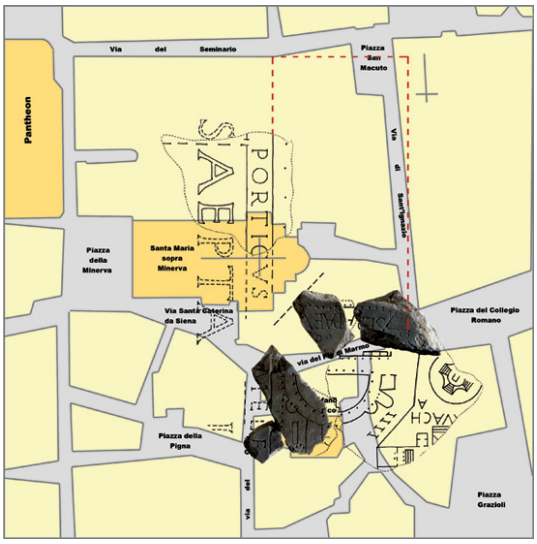

Figure 32

[594] The Ptolemaic sanctuary covered an area of ca. 173.7m x 77m (=13.375m^2), the complex was enlarged during the Roman period then measuring ca. 105.55m x 205.7m, see McKenzie et al. 2004, 87-88, 92-95, figs. 9-12. The Serapeum of Caracalla on the Quirinal hill in Rome covered an area of ca. 16.890m^2, Coarelli 1982, 58-59; Lollio Barberi et al. 1995, 79-89.

[595] *LTUR* II, Forum Iulium: ca. 158m x 74m (second building phase); Forum Augustum: ca. 105m x 120m; Templum Pacis ca. 110m x 105m (Piazza); Forum Nervae/Forum Transitorium: ca. 120m x 45m; Forum Traiani ca. 200m x 120m (Piazza); see also Delfino 2008, 52-54; Meneghini et al. 2009, 190-201; Viscogliosi 2009, 202-029.

[596] Lembke 1994, 70, 73 '*[…] Domitian als Bauherrn des Iseum Campense, wie es die* FUR *wiedergibt […]*'. Lembke also recognizes the Hadrianic and Severan restorations of the Iseum, however, argues that they were minor repairs ('Veränderungen' and 'Ausbesserungen') with little or no impact on the original Flavian layout as represented on the FUR.

[597] Alfano 1992a, 13-16; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 176; Ensoli 1998, 420, 424-425. Ensoli argues for a Hadrianic dating of the exedra, however, generally sees the layout on the FUR as a result of a Severan restoration: '*[…] ricostruzione severiana del santuario nel suo insieme […]*.'

The evidence of the Forma Urbis Romae

The Forma Urbis Romae is a marble plan of the city of Rome created between AD 203 and 211 in the time of Septimius Severus. The plan consisted of 150 marble plaques measuring ca. 18 x 13 m and represented the 4.000 ha of the city at the scale of 1:240. The impressive plan, oriented with south-east at the top, was mounted on a wall in one of the halls of the *Templum Pacis*.[598] The brick wall still survives today built into the church of SS. Cosma e Damiano. Since 1562, 1,186 fragments, or 10-15% of the plan, have been retrieved in the area close to the wall.[599] It is plausible, though not certain, that the hall where the plan hung was the office of the *praefectus urbi*. The function of the plan is also disputed: did it have a utilitarian purpose in connection with census taking and the recording of public and private property or was it a showpiece, a manifestation of imperial ideology? It seems likely that the Severan plan was too large and too 'general' in its content to be consulted and scholars therefore assume that another, more detailed version of the plan was kept in the *Templum Pacis*, perhaps on sheets of papyrus or bronze tablets.[600] Finally, it should be noted that fragments of one or more pre-Severan marble plans drawn to the same scale have been found in different parts of the city, e.g., beneath the paving of the Forum Transitorium and in the Via Anicia in Trastevere.[601] The relationship between

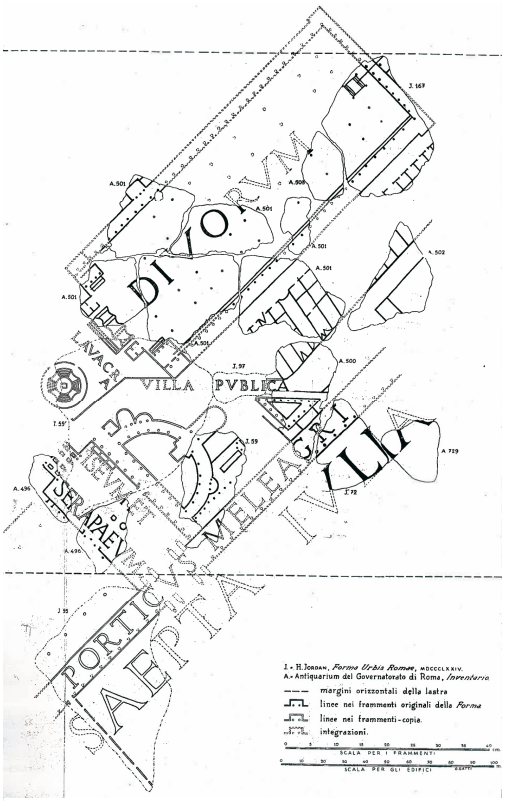

Figure 33

[598] A disastrous fire under Commodus swept the Flavian Templum Pacis in AD 192 (cf. Dio Cass. 72.24.1-2), but was rebuilt in subsequent years by Septimius Severus.

[599] The fragments of the FUR, kept in boxes, are stored in the Museo della Civiltà Romana. A fragment of the FUR has also been found in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure far from the *Templum Pacis*. The lime kilns active in this area in the 15th and 16th centuries probably explain why the fragment ended up here; Manacorda 2002, 711-712.

[600] T. Najbjerg, "The Severan Marble Plan of Rome (FUR)," Stanford Digital Forma Urbis Romae Project, http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/docs/FURmap.html, 26/2/14; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 307.

[601] For the pre-Severan marble plans of Rome and Italy, see generally Rodríguez-Almeida 2002; for the fragments found in Via Anicia and the Forum Transitorium: Rodríguez-Almeida 2002, 43-49, 61-66; moreover Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 301-312.

these predecessors and the Severan plan is not clear. It is certain, however, that the surveyors when creating the Severan plan referred to smaller, more precise cadastral maps.[602]

The identification of the Iseum Campense on the FUR is due to C. Hülsen. In an article on the 'Porticus Divorum und Serapeum im Marsfelde' from 1903 Hülsen successfully re-assembled the fragments of the FUR representing the *Divorum* including four fragments (35m, 35s, 35t, 35u) featuring a monumental exedra and a rectangular courtyard area with the inscription SE[---]A*PAEV[---] located immediately north-west of the *Divorum*.[603] (Fig. 33) In 1929, V. Lundström was able to assign an additional fragment of the FUR (36a) with the letters PORTIC[---] and [---]AE[---] to the area north-west of the courtyard. Lundström associated the first inscription with the porticus Meleagri and the second with an AE[des] [i]VLI[a(e)] / [i]VLI[orum] (on fragments 35aa and 35bb). He moreover reconstructed the two small lines incised above the inscription on fragment 35t as the letters [---]M E[---], i.e., [ISEU]M E[T], suggesting that the Egyptian sanctuary was dedicated to both Serapis and Isis.[604] In 1937, G. Gatti corrected Lundström's reading of AE[des] [i]VLI[orum] to [s]AE[pta] [i]VLI[a]. Gatti thus identified the location of the *Saepta Julia*, which occupied the space immediately west of the Iseum, i.e., the eastern portico of the *Saepta Julia* (the *porticus Meleagri*) constituted the western demarcation of the Iseum.[605] Finally, in 1943, Gatti demonstrated that the Arco di Camilliano, part of which is visible on fragment 35m and 35s, constituted the eastern entrance to the Iseum, while the monumental Giano accanto alla Minerva gave access to the sanctuary from west, i.e., via the *porticus Meleagri*.[606] The later major publication of the Severan Marble Plan by Carettoni et al. in 1960 and the update published by Rodríguez-Almeida in 1980 have not changed the placement of the FUR fragments related to the Iseum Campense.[607]

Thus, five fragments of the FUR - 35m, 35s, 35t, 35uv, and 36a - have proven fundamental for our understanding of the location and general layout of the Iseum Campense and its

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[602] Rodríguez-Almeida 2002, 74; Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 305-307. A notable difference between the pre-Severan and Severan plans is the fact that only public buildings are named on the FUR while both public and private property is named on the pre-Severan fragments.

[603] Hülsen 1903, 32-39. Hülsen's identification and reconstruction of the plan of the Iseum Campense had been preceded by various imaginative reconstructions of the Egyptian sanctuary by Canina (1848), Lanciani (1893-1901) and Hülsen himself (1893); see Lembke 1994, Taf. 1.3, 1.4 and 2.1-2.

[604] Lundström 1929, 110-135; Gatti 1943-1944, 150-151; the identification of these lines as letters is, however, controversial; see Carettoni et al. 1960, 97, 99 n. 16. According to Carettoni et al. these lines, instead of letters, represent topographical signs, i.e., the entrance to the exedra/the Serapeum.

[605] Gatti 1989, 89-104 [= 1937, 8-23]; this location is confirmed by Juv. VI, 528-529, who mentions the Iseum as being near the old Ovile/Saepta '*[…] antique quae proxima surgit ovili*.'

[606] Gatti 1943-1944, 117-163.

[607] Carettoni et al. 1960, 97-102; Rodríguez-Almeida 1981, 122-129, tav. 26 and 27; see also *Divus Vespasianus* 2009, 451, no. 43. The exact position of fragment 36a along the north-western axis of the Iseum/the *porticus Meleagri* remains uncertain.

relation to the surrounding buildings. Of these five fragments, two (35m and 36a) are only known from Renaissance drawings made after their discovery in 1562.[608] In the following paragraphs, I will provide a brief description of the different architectural features depicted on these five fragments of the FUR. Generally, the sanctuary appears to have been divided into three different sections: an exedra to the south, a central courtyard-area, and an elongated enclosed area to the north. The following description proceeds from south to north.[609]

The exedra is depicted on fragments 35m and 35uv. (Fig. 34) The semicircular structure measured ca. 70 m E-W x 50 m N-S and had four adjoining niches. The largest and deepest of these niches is located directly on the N-S axis of the sanctuary and is symmetrically flanked by two smaller niches. A fourth, slightly deeper niche and a small rectangular room accessible from the north are located directly next to the small niche in the eastern half of the exedra. In front of the niches two, and in one case three, dots represent columns. A porticus surrounds the exedra itself on all sides defining a semicircular area. Directly north of this semicircle, a row of seven columns is represented along the wall separating the exedra from the courtyard towards north. The area behind the western part of the exedra is occupied by a row of ten columns (?) and by a rectangular structure with three nonaligned dots at its southern end. Finally, a circular structure, identified as the temple of Minerva Chalcidica,[610] as well as the north-western corner of a rectangular space, identified as the *Divorum*,[611] is depicted south-east of the exedra.

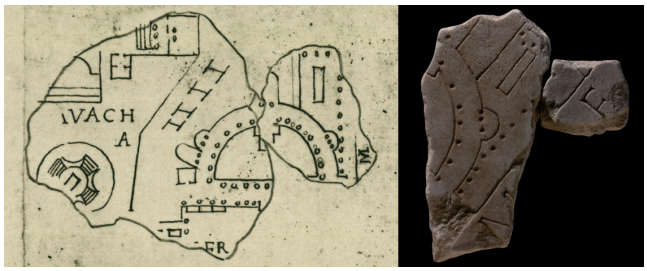

Figure 34

Fragments 35m, 35s, and 35t depict parts of the central courtyard. This rectangular structure measured ca. 68 m E-W x 27 m N-S and was located directly north of the exedra. A centrally placed passage in the wall separating the courtyard from the exedra probably connected the two areas.[612] Another, wider passage with three unaligned columns (?) is located on the opposite, i.e., northern, side of the courtyard, giving access to the northern part of the sanctuary. On fragment 35t, a square (ca. 2 x 2 m) and a circle (ca. ø 3 m) are incised in the central part of the courtyard.[613] The

[608] Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439 - Folios 13r (35m_u) and 22r (35s, 35t, 36a); Carettoni et al. 1960, 97-102, tav. 1, 13, and 31; Rodríguez-Almeida 1981, 122-129, tav. 26 and 27; the Stanford Digital FUR Project: http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/index.html.
[609] Lembke 1994, 18-25, 144-146; Coarelli 1996, 107-109.
[610] Carettoni et al. 1960, 97, 99.
[611] Hülsen 1903, 17-32; Carettoni et al. 1960, 98-99.
[612] For the identification of this passageway, see Carettoni et al. 1960, 97, 99 n. 16; see also note 604 above.
[613] Carettoni et al. 1960, 99; Coarelli 1996, 108.

square is located on the N-S axis of the sanctuary, in alignment with the two passageways, while the circle is placed directly west of the square. In the south-eastern corner of the courtyard, three rectangular spaces are represented along the wall separating the courtyard from the exedra. The area north of the square and the circle, i.e., the northern half of the courtyard, is occupied by the inscription SE[---]APAEV[---]. The inscription is oriented with the bottom to the north.[614] Finally, fragment 35s depicts two square piers and the remains of a third with freestanding columns in front of them. These piers are associated with the so-called Arco di Camilliano giving access to the sanctuary from the east.[615] North of the piers, an east-west running wall is continuing in a right angle towards the north before turning west again. This wall separated the courtyard from the northern part of the sanctuary.

Fragments 35s, 35t, and 36a depict a few architectural details related to the northern part of the sanctuary. (Fig. 35) This roughly rectangular and elongated space measured ca. 65 m E-W x 140 m N-S. Fragments 35s and 35t depict two sections of the wall separating the northern part of the sanctuary from the courtyard towards south. Two slightly wedge formed lines (walls) and two dots (columns) are depicted along the eastern section of this wall. Further west along the same wall, yet beyond the passageway with the three columns, a single dot (column) is depicted. Fragment 36a depicts a part of the sanctuary's western perimeter wall with four dots variously interpreted as columns, obelisks, trees, or well curbs in front of it. I will discuss the different interpretations of these dots in the section on the Egyptian obelisks below. Finally, fragment 36a illustrates that the Iseum shared its western perimeter wall with the *porticus Meleagri*, which is depicted in the space between the two parallel lines inscribed with the letters PORTIC[---]. Further west, beyond the *porticus Meleagri*, the letters [---]AE[---] appears in a space identified as the Saepta Julia.[616]

Figure 35

The architectural remains

In the following sections, I will provide a rather detailed overview of the current archaeological situation of the Iseum Campense. This overview is based on the sporadic, mainly 19th century, reports

[614] Carettoni et al. 1960, 99. In the original display of the map this would of course have been different as it, as mentioned above, was oriented with south-east at the top.
[615] Carettoni et al. 1960, 99, 100-101.
[616] Carettoni et al. 1960, 97, 100.

of the discoveries made in the northern part of the sanctuary including Lanciani's scientific, yet unpublished, excavation in the Via del Beato Angelico in 1883.[617] This information is supplemented by the limited records of the excavations carried out in the Via del Piè di Marmo in 1923, 1957, 1969 and 1980-1981[618] as well as with the preliminary results of the first systematic excavation of the Iseum carried out in the '*Insula Domenicana*' by the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma from 1991 to 1993.[619] These records, although generally confusing because of their preliminary nature, are nevertheless important for the understanding of the overall layout and the, so far, poorly understood chronology of the sanctuary.

The walls, pavement and arches of the Iseum

Actual '*in situ*' remains of the sanctuary are scarce and no vestiges are visible above ground. In 1991-1993, the remains of two massive brick walls (R1 and R2), possibly Hadrianic, were discovered in the basements of the Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati in the Via del Seminario.[620] Only parts of these walls are visible as they extend below the level of the modern basement floor, which lies at 4.11 m below ground level. The walls are standing to a height of 3.06-3.27 m (R1) and 2.72 m (R2) above the basement floor. However, because of the floor it is not possible to establish the total surviving height. The longest wall (R1) is 15.73 m long and is oriented along a north-south axis, the second, shorter wall (R2) runs east-west and is 3.32 m long. The fabric and location of these walls suggest that they formed part of the sanctuary's western (R1) and northern (R2) perimeter wall.[621]

Two more brick walls (R3 and R4) were found standing to a height of ca. 2.5 m during the same excavations. The first of these walls (R3) runs north-south along the axis of the Biblioteca Casanatense / the Via di Sant' Ignazio, the second wall runs eastwards. Differences in materials (type of brick and mortar), construction method, and size clearly distinguish these walls from those of the perimeter wall. One of the walls - R3 - is constructed on a foundation of large stones and mortar and both walls are contemporary with a uniform pavement of cocciopesto located at a depth of 6 m. According to Alfano, the cocciopesto pavement and the walls R3 and R4 belong to phase A, i.e., '*[…] la prima e più antica fase costruttiva […].*'[622] The cocciopesto pavement covered the entire excavated

[617] Canina 1852; Henzen 1856; Henzen and Ampère 1858; Lanciani 1883; 1883a.
[618] For the excavations of [1923], see Mancini 1925; Gatti 1943-1944, 156-157; [1957], see Gatti 1972-1973, 84-85; Lembke 1994, 199-200, nos. D 41, 43; [1969 and 1980-1981 focused on the Arco di Camilliano], see Coarelli 1982, 64; Laurenti 1985; 1996; De Maria 1988, 292-294, no. 77; Alfano 1992a, 11; Lembke 1994, 184-185, no. D 2.
[619] Alfano 1992a; 1998.
[620] Alfano 1992a, 17-18; 1998, 181-184 and figs. 3-4; Lembke 1994, 199, nos. D 39-40.
[621] It has also tentatively been suggested that the wall R1 was part of the Aqua Virgo, see Alfano 1998, 184-186.
[622] Alfano 1998, 193, 198, 200.

area and had a thickness varying from 18-24 cm.[623] The more modest dimensions of the walls R3 and R4, generally, make an association with the perimeter wall unlikely and their function thus remains uncertain.[624]

A fifth brick wall (R5), heavily damaged and partially collapsed, yet, preserved to a length of 5.0 m and a height of 2.0 m was found in a layer above the cocciopesto pavement. It runs in a north-south direction along the axis of the Biblioteca Casanatense. The foundations, ca. one m deep and composed of various layers, are bedded on a stratum of earth, about 32 cm deep, covering the entire surface of the cocciopesto pavement. At some point in Antiquity, the upper part of the wall collapsed (probably due to an earthquake). However, the find circumstances suggest that before the wall collapsed a series of egyptianising reliefs in white marble had been detached from it and deliberately destroyed. (Fig. 36) According to Alfano, the wall R5 and its egyptianising reliefs belong in phase D. It is thus '*[…] posteriore a quelli [the walls and the pavement] dell'area II [i.e., phase A][…].*'[625]

Figure 36

In 1923, the remains of two additional walls were discovered during excavations in the southern part of the sanctuary. These walls, one in brick running north-south and the other in *opus quadratum* running east-west, were found at a depth of ca. five m in the westernmost part of the Via del Piè di Marmo. The orientation and fabric of the wall running north-south suggest that it was part of the sanctuary's western perimeter wall, i.e., the *porticus Meleagri*, and the wall running east-west was probably part of the courtyard's southern boundary wall, i.e., the wall, which separated the courtyard from the exedra towards the south.[626] These excavations also revealed the remains of a stair with five steps rising from west (the *porticus Meleagri*) towards east (the Iseum) and a vast expanse of travertine paving attested at an average depth of ca. five metres along the entire length of the Via del Piè di Marmo.[627] In the following paragraphs, I will briefly review the question of the paving of the Iseum.

In 1991-1993, test pits dug west of the margins of the main excavation area revealed another section of this travertine – and marble – paving continuing further west beyond the limits of

[623] Alfano 1992a, 18; 1998, 192, 194; see also Lanciani 1883a, 58.
[624] Alfano 1998, 190-192 and figs. 9a, b, c and 10.
[625] Alfano 1998, 193, 198.
[626] Gatti 1943-1944, 156-157; Lembke 1994, 199, nos. D 37-38.
[627] Mancini 1925, 236-237; Gatti 1943-1944, 156; 1972-1973, 84-85; Alfano 1992a, 11; 1998, 196; Lembke 1994, 199-200, nos. D 41-43.

the excavation.[628] A flight of two travertine steps marked the transition between the paved area and a lower lying water channel embedded in the cocciopesto flooring which, as mentioned above, covered large parts of the excavated area. The flight of steps ran along the entire length of the north-south oriented channel. Alfano tentatively suggests that the paved area covered the inner and most sacred parts of the sanctuary, while the bedding of cocciopesto without further facing covered the service areas. The paved area was located at a higher level (ca. 5 m below ground) than the bedding of cocciopesto (ca. 6 m below ground); however, as mentioned, the two areas were connected by the flight of travertine steps.[629] A number of stamped bipedales have been found *in situ* at the bottom of the water and drainage channels and in the cocciopesto pavement.[630]

A section of the same bedding of cocciopesto together with a drainage channel was found at a depth of ca. 5.90-6 m during Lanciani's excavations in the Via del Beato Angelico in 1883. Lanciani assumed that a marble revetment originally covered the layer of cocciopesto and describes how a number of sculptures, which included two fragments of Egyptian reliefs (now lost), a sphinx, two squatting baboons, a trilateral candelabra base and a fragment of a second candelabra, were found *'[…] rovesciate sul lastrico […]*', i.e., overturned on the pavement. Among the finds was also the so-called Dogali obelisk, which, according to Lanciani, however, remained standing (*in situ*?) until the accumulation of debris around it had reached a height of ca. 2 m. Thus, when eventually overturned the obelisk did not hit the hard cocciopesto pavement but fell on a soft layer of earth. Moreover, at the same level, the sculpture of a crocodile was found in a channel *'[…] tutto lastricato di marmi […]*' running north-south. [631] (Fig. 37) It seems


Figure 37

[628] Alfano 1998, 196, 197-198. According to Alfano large blocks of broken marble were discovered in connection with the travertine paving, which she generally describes as '*[…] una grande platea di marmo e di travertino […].*'
[629] Alfano 1998, 197-200.
[630] Alfano mentions three bipedales: [A] rectangular stamp with the inscription "T.TETTIVS.EVCERVS.FEC" (= T. Tettius Barbarus?) datable to the 1st century AD (*CIL* X^2, 8048/44 a-b; *CIL* XV^1, 1472/3; Bloch 1947, 80, 109, nos. 386 and 554; a convenient overview of the 'Tettii' is given by Pallecchi 2002, 241-245); [B] orbicular stamp with the inscription "EX.F.L.VELLICI.SOLLERTIS" datable to the beginning of the 2nd century AD (Hadrian) (*CIL* XV^1, 887); [C] Orbicular stamp with the inscription "CALLISTI DVOR.DOMITIO" datable between AD 60 and 93 (*CIL* XV^1, 992a; Bloch 1947a, 28 [168] (Gruppo Domizianeo), 111 [107], no. (992a)); see Alfano 1998, 195, n. 48, 196, n. 53.
[631] Lanciani 1883, 208-209, 244-245; 1883a, 58; Schiaparelli 1883, 245-251; 1883a, 61-103; see also Beltrami's mention of Lanciani's excavations in the *L'Illustrazione Italiana* (of July 22, 1883, 51-53), which also includes Paolocci's illustrations of the finds and the excavation site; moreover Lembke 1994, 187-188, no. D 5, 197-198, no. D 34, 225-226, no. E 16, 228-229, nos. E 20-21, 249-251, nos. E 58-59. The sculptures are now in the MC, inv. 35 (sphinx), 26 (baboon), 32 (baboon), 759 (candelabra), 24 (crocodile); 13 (column with egyptianising reliefs), see Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 30-31, 36-38, 42-45, 59-70; for the Dogali obelisk, see Iversen 1968, 174-177. The column with egyptianising reliefs, inv. 13, was found at a higher level than the rest of the sculptures, i.e., ca. 2 m below the ground; see Lanciani 1883, 244.

likely that this channel forms the southward continuation of the channel discovered further north during the excavations of 1991-1993.[632]

A very similar situation to that of Lanciani's excavation in the Via del Beato Angelico had already been observed in the same street in January 1853 and in the summer of 1856/1858. In those years, Augusto Silvestrelli (the owner of no. 19-21) and Pietro Tranquilli (the owner of no. 23) undertook the restoration of their neighbouring houses on the southern side of the street. No scientific account of these private excavations exists. However, some of the discoveries, especially the sculptures, are briefly mentioned in the relevant years of the *Annali* and the *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*.[633] From these and slightly later reports, it appears that the pavement of the Iseum was located at a depth of ca. six m and that a number of Egyptian, egyptianising and Graeco-Roman sculptures were found lying on the pavement. According to Lanciani, the pavement was formed of *'[…] lastre di marmo, con figure egizie graffite nella faccia rivolta al suolo […]*' and, on one side, a water/drainage channel demarcated it. Lanciani immediately associated this pavement with the one seen and described by Cassiano dal Pozzo in March 1642.[634] At that time, according to dal Pozzo, *'[…]un pavimento antico di lastre di pietra intagliato tutto con figure o hieroglifici egitti [...] quali in qualche parte ancora si vedevano dipinte, verso terra [...]abbruciato e danneggiato dal fuoco notabilmente […]*' was found beneath the buildings of the Dominican Monastery of the Minerva.[635] W. Henzen, who in 1856 inspected the excavations of P. Tranquilli *'[…] nel bujo d'una cantina […]*' also noted that the surface of some of the sculptures was damaged by fire.[636]

A comparison between the preliminary results of the excavations in 1991-1993 and the sporadic descriptions of the previous, mainly 19th century, excavations in the area suggests that, generally, Alfano, Mancini, Canina, Henzen, Lanciani, and dal Pozzo observed the same archaeological phenomena. These shared phenomena include the pavement of the Iseum formed of a vast expanse of cocciopesto and, at a higher level, of large slabs of travertine and marble. Another recurring phenomenon is the complex network of wells, water and drainage channels, which, at least

[632] Alfano 1998, 195-196.
[633] Canina 1852, 348-353; Henzen 1856, 180-183; Henzen and Ampère 1858, 46-47; see also Lollio Barberi et al. 1995, 227-230 for the story of how P. Tranquilli after the excavation put the sculptures up for sale. Because of this, the sculptures are now dispersed between the collections of the MC, inv. 33 (sphinx), 13 (column with egyptianising reliefs), 25 (papyrus capital); the Museo Barracco, inv. 13 (female sphinx); and the MAN di Firenze, inv. 5419 (Hathor cow with suckling Horemheb), 5420 (Naophorous). The sculptures of the *casa* Silvestrelli are in the Vatican, MGE, inv. 68 (papyrus column), 77 (papyrus capital), see Lembke 1994, 187, no. D 4, 191-193, nos. D 19 and D 21-22, 225, no. E 15, 227-228, no. E 18, 231-232, no. E 25, 241-242, no. E 44.
[634] Lanciani 1880, 5-6; 1883a, 47-48, 56-57; see also Lembke 1994, 201, no. D 45. Lembke uses the word 'Pflasterung' to describe the pavement.
[635] Lanciani 1883a, 44-45; see also Lembke 1994, 201, no. D 46.
[636] Henzen 1856, 181.

in certain areas, interrupted the cocciopesto pavement. One of these channels, a north-south oriented *euripus* covered with marble revetment, probably ran along the entire eastern length of the Iseum. A wide flight of travertine steps connected the lower level of the pavement including the water channel with the higher paved area.[637] Yet another recurring phenomenon is the sculptures, which were found lying overturned and damaged by fire on the pavement.[638] Moreover, it is clear that some of the marble slabs used in the pavement were carved with egyptianising reliefs, which, at the time of discovery, were facing down.[639] Finally, different sections of the western perimeter wall as well as the remains of interior (?) walls, one with traces of marble revetment and numerous cramp holes, belonging to another unidentified structure, have been observed on previous occasions.

According to the overall stratigraphy of the area, as summarised by Alfano, the Roman occupation layers were situated at a depth of ca. 3.40-6 m below ground. The closely packed, mixed fill layer accumulated above the cocciopesto pavement, located at a depth of 6 m, consisted of numerous large fragments of reliefs in white marble, marble slabs (some with bronze cramps), various polychrome marbles,[640] pottery, *sigillata*, amphorae, lamps, small fragments of painted stucco, *tesserae* etc. Intrusive finds from later, i.e., post-Roman, phases were absent in this layer.[641] This stratigraphic sequence roughly corresponds to the sequence described by Lanciani in the Via del Beato Angelico in 1883: to a depth of about four metres below street level, the excavated layer consisted of moist and loose soil; from four to six metres the layer was rich in finds mixed with sandy yellowish soil.[642]

As for the marble slabs, carved with egyptianising reliefs, reused in the pavement of the Iseum in a secondary building phase, it is highly likely that they, in a previous phase, had formed part

[637] It is tempting to associate this flight of steps with the structure found beneath the House of A. Silvestrelli in 1853 and which Canina describes in the following way: '*Inoltre venni assicurato che furono rinvenuti diversi gradi che da una area inferiore mettevano ad un suolo più elevato e circondato da una specie di piccolo canale.*'; Canina 1852, 348-349. The location of this structure in the south-western part of the northern courtyard would generally fit the location of the structures described by Lanciani 1883, 244-245; 1883a, 58 and Alfano 1998, 195-196. For other interpretations of this structure, which Canina (1852, 351) interpreted as '*la fronte del tempio*'; see Lembke 1994, 22, 200, no. D 44 (eine erhöhte Plattform); Ensoli 1998, 419-420 (l'edificio templare).

[638] Sculptures and columns damaged by fire are mentioned by Vacca (1594), dal Pozzo (1642) and Henzen (1856); see Lanciani 1880, 5-6; 1883a, 44-45; Henzen 1856, 181.

[639] The pavement slabs with egyptianising reliefs were observed by dal Pozzo (1642) and, according to Lanciani, in connection with the excavation beneath the house of P. Tranquilli (1856/1858); see Lanciani 1883a, 44, 47-48, 57.

[640] The polychrome marbles included greywacke, rosso e giallo antico, serpentine, africano, red porphyry, bigio, pavonazzetto and portasanta (from Chios); see Alfano 1998, 201.

[641] According to Alfano, 70% of the layer consisted of finds; see Alfano 1998, 190, 201-202.

[642] Lanciani 1883a, 58.

of the sanctuary's wall decoration.[643] This suggestion finds support in the numerous, deliberately destroyed, slabs of white marble with egyptianising bas-reliefs found in the closely packed fill layer above the pavement. According to Alfano, some of these bas-reliefs belonged to the revetment of the wall R5 with its regular series of cramp holes. The marked stylistic differences in the workmanship of the relief carvings moreover suggest that the slabs belonged to at least two different reliefs/walls. These reliefs are clearly 'egyptianising', i.e., Roman, and Alfano tentatively dates them to the 1st – 2nd century AD.[644] The relationship between these Roman reliefs and a series of Egyptian reliefs in red granite, which probably also decorated the walls of the Iseum, is not clear.[645] It is tempting, although not yet provable, to associate the destruction and subsequent (partial) reuse of the egyptianising relief slabs with the fire of AD 80 and the Domitianic restoration of the Iseum completed around AD 85/86.[646] Yet, the reuse of the egyptianising reliefs slabs has also been associated with a later Severan restoration of the Iseum ca. AD 198-209.[647]

Finally, I will briefly consider the two independent structures, the Flavian Arco di Camilliano and the Hadrianic Giano accanto alla Minerva, standing on either side of the central courtyard of the sanctuary.[648] (Fig. 31) When approaching from the west, i.e., the *porticus Meleagri*, the visitors, at least from the Hadrianic period on, passed through the monumental Giano accanto alla Minerva. This arch, today, lies ruined beneath the house in the Via del Piè di Marmo 46. The plan of the arch was recorded by A. da Sangallo the Younger around 1515[649] and in 1872/1873, it was rediscovered when the house, into which it was built, i.e., the administrative headquarters of the confraternity of Ss. Annunziata, was demolished. The Giano accanto alla Minerva was a huge two-storied fourwayarch (quadrifrons) resting on eight piers with one central and two smaller lateral

[643] Alfano 1998, 197-198, 200; see also Ensoli 1998, 424; Lembke 1994, 22, 195-198, nos. D 31-36 (Reliefs) and 201, nos. D 45-46 (Teil des Pflasterung). The material of these reused relief slabs, although not completely clear from the records, appears to have been marble; see Lanciani 1883a, 56-57; Alfano 1998, 197.
[644] Alfano 1998, 192-193, 198, 201-206; *Cleopatra Roma*, 260, nos. IV.41-42, 264-266, nos. IV.48-52. For other, now lost, egyptianising reliefs associated with the Iseum, see Henzen 1856, 182; Henzen and Ampère 1858, 47; Matz and von Duhn III, 218, no. 4010; Lembke 1994, 198, nos. D 35-36.
[645] Lembke 1994, 22, 195-198, nos. D 31-34. So far, the only extant Egyptian relief of the Iseum is that of Nectanebo II from Behbeit el-Hagar now in the MNR, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 52045; see Manera and Mazza 2001, 48, no. 7.
[646] Cf. Mart. II.14, 1-8 (published in AD 86). Lembke indirectly suggests a Domitianic date of the pavement; Lembke 1994, 22, 69-70; see also Alfano 1998, 197. In the northern part of the Campus Martius, the Flavian level is found at a depth of ca. 6.30-6.40 m. It was at this level that Buchner and Rakob in 1979 found the Flavian, probably Domitianic, restoration of the Horologium Augusti; see Buchner 1982, 66, 76 (Domitianic date); 1996a, 36 (Vespasianic date); Rakob 1987, 693-694; Heslin 2007, 6-8.
[647] Ensoli 1998, 423-424.
[648] Coarelli assumes that the main entrance to the sanctuary was located in the northern part of the area along the Via del Seminario; Coarelli 1982, 64; 1996, 108.
[649] Gatti 1943-1944, 138, fig. 11; Lembke 1994, 155, Abb. 29.

archways.[650] The 'Arco di Camilliano', identified with the triumphal 'Arcus ad Isis' represented on the so-called 'Sacra Via' relief from the Tomb of the Haterii, marked the eastern entrance to the Iseum. This arch is recorded on more plans of the area from the 16th century but it was largely demolished towards the end of that same century. Three piers of the northern archway are, however, still *in situ* built into the house in the Via del Piè di Marmo 24a.[651] In 1980-1981, excavations confirmed that the arch originally had three passageways (accessible from two sides) as had already been suggested by G. Gatti.[652]

Summary: the architectural remains

Generally, the different architectural remains of the Iseum are extremely complex and difficult to interpret. The most recent and, so far, only scientific excavations of the Iseum (1991-1993) established a stratigraphic sequence for a limited part of the northern part of the sanctuary. The established sequence testifies to successive phases of occupation and abandonment from the Late Republican period until today.[653] However, the results of the excavations have only been published in a preliminary form and no conclusions concerning the absolute dates of the successive phases can yet be drawn.

The Roman occupation layers are situated at a depth of ca. 3.40-70 to 6 m below the modern surface. In some areas of the Iseum, possibly the inner and most sacred parts, the pavement of the sanctuary consisted of large slabs of marble and travertine. In some places, water channels, situated at a lower level, yet accessible via a flight of travertine steps, interrupted this pavement. A solid bedding of cocciopesto (*opus signinum*) covering large parts of the northern part of the Iseum in some places functioned as the foundation of the pavement consisting of plaques of marble and travertine. In other parts of the sanctuary, possible the service areas, the cocciopesto itself constituted the pavement without further facing.

The marble slabs, carved with egyptianising reliefs, found in the pavement of the Iseum with the relief sides facing down, clearly represent a secondary building phase related either to the Domitianic restoration of the Iseum after the fire in AD 80 or to the later Hadrianic and Severan

[650] For a detailed account and reconstruction of this archway, see Gatti 1943-1944, 137-150; De Maria 1988, 299-300, no. 85; moreover Lembke 1994, 152-153, nos. 1, 4-5 and 8 (architectural drawings of the cornice), 183-184, no. D 1; see also Astolfi 2003, 8-9.
[651] For a detailed account of this archway, see Gatti 1943-1944, 124-137; De Maria 1988, 292-294, no. 77; moreover Lembke 1994, 184-185, no. D 2; see also Astolfi 2003, 9-10 and Appendix F below.
[652] Gatti 1943-1944, 130; Laurenti 1985, 400-403; 1996, 110.
[653] Alfano 1998, 186-190.

building phases.[654] The Hadrianic building activities included the quadrifrons Giano accanto alla Minerva (brick stamps dated to AD 123),[655] the exedra (inscription dedicated to Antinous "*Synthronos*" of all the gods in Egypt)[656] and, as noted above, may have involved the western perimeter wall as well.[657] The building programme of Hadrian in the Campus Martius also involved the restorations of the nearby *Saepta Julia* and the Pantheon, struck by lightning and burned during the reign of Trajan, the basilica of Neptune, the *templum Matidiae*, and the *basilicae Marcianae et Matidiae*.[658] The Severan phase of the Iseum is attested by a monumental entablature block with a dedicatory inscription mentioning Septimius Severus and Caracalla left *in situ* built into the foundations of a house in the Via del Piè di Marmo as well as a further inscription found in the debris of the Giano accanto alla Minerva.[659] According to the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, the last emperor of the Severan dynasty, Alexander Severus, moreover provided the Iseum with '*statues (signis), Delian slaves (Deliacis), and all the apparatus used in the mystic rites (omnibus mysticis).*'[660]

Yet, as noted above, the preliminary nature of the archaeological data makes it difficult to say anything definitely about the extent of the Hadrianic and Severan interventions and about the chronological sequence of any previous building phases. In our present state of knowledge, it is thus necessary to combine the archaeological record with other sources, such as the FUR, as well as epigraphic, numismatic, and literary evidence when discussing the question of when and by whom the Iseum was built.

The literary and numismatic evidence

To conclude the section on the location and layout of the Iseum, I will supplement the evidence of archaeology and the FUR with a discussion of the literary and numismatic sources. Here, as in the previous sections, my primary concern is with the overall appearance and layout of the Iseum as well

[654] How the bipedales, dated between the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, embedded in the channels and the cocciopesto pavement fit the overall chronology of the successive building phase(s) of the Iseum is not yet clearly understood; see Alfano 1998, 198; and note 630 above.
[655] Gatti 1943-1944, 144.
[656] *IG* XIV 961 = *RICIS* 501/0117.
[657] Alfano 1998, 182-184.
[658] Lembke 1994, 80-82.
[659] Lembke 1994, 71-72, 143, nos. B 11 (*in situ*, not copied) and B 12 (*CIL* VI^4, fasc. II, 31464), 193, no. D 28; see also Mancini 1925, 239; Gatti 1943-1944, 144-147; Ensoli 1998, 425. The first inscription (B 12) was found in 1872/1873 in the debris of the Giano accanto alla Minerva; the second inscription (B 11) was found in 1923 built into the foundation of a house in the Via del Piè di Marmo. The 1923-excavations in the Via del Piè di Marmo also revealed a number of columns in grey granite (including one with egyptianising reliefs) and africano; see Mancini 1925, 235-239; for a possible Severan date of the columns with egyptianising reliefs, see Ensoli 1998, 420.
[660] SHA *Alex. Sev.* 26.8.

as with the chronology of the site. By whom, and when was the Iseum Campense built? When did the sanctuary get its 'Egyptian' image? As we will see, these questions also touch on the question of when (if ever) the cult of Isis was officially recognised at Rome.[661]

If indeed, as seems likely, the fire of AD 80 caused the destruction and subsequent reuse of the egyptianising relief slabs in the pavement described above, it would imply that the Iseum had an 'Egyptian' appearance already in its pre-Domitianic phase. We know from Josephus that Vespasian and Titus spent the night before the Judaean triumph in June AD 71 in the Iseum Campense.[662] Yet, we know very little about what this pre-Domitianic sanctuary looked like. This is partly due to the lack of excavations and well-defined stratigraphy and partly due to the difficulties of knowing how many and which ones of the Egyptian imports – if any – that belong to the pre-Domitianic phase(s) of the Iseum.[663]

It has been suggested, though not generally accepted, that the eastern entrance arch of the Iseum, i.e., the Arco di Camilliano, formed part of the pre-Domitianic Iseum.[664] As mentioned above, this arch is usually identified with the triumphal 'Arcus ad Isis' on the so-called 'Sacra Via' relief from the Tomb of the Haterii providing a terminus *ante quem* of ca. AD 100 for its erection. Scholars favouring a Vespasianic date of the arch associate its triumphal iconography (the arch is surmounted by a quadriga flanked by captives bound to palm trees and *tropaea*) with the iconography of some of Vespasian's early coin issues (AD 71-73), with the legend 'Iudaea capta'. Equally important for this argument are the three wreaths, a large and two smaller ones, depicted on the attic of the arch, symbolising the reigning emperor Vespasian and his two sons. I find the suggestion of a Vespasianic date of the arch attractive. So far, at least, nothing seems to disprove the assumption that Vespasian (or the Senate), shortly after the triumph of AD 71, erected an arch in the area of the Iseum

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[661] For the distinction between public (*sacra publica*) and private (*sacra private*) cults, see Gradel 2002, 8-13. Generally, public cults were performed on behalf of the whole individual city and all its citizens, by city magistrates, at public expense. It is important to emphasise, as does Gradel, that our notions of public versus private have little in common with the distinction made by the ancients.

[662] Joseph. *BJ* 7.123. Whether Vespasian and Titus spent the night *in* or *near* the Iseum is a matter of dispute, see Beard 2007, 92-96. However, that the Iseum in question is to be identified with the Iseum Campense is generally agreed upon. The inscription on an altar (*CIL* VI[1], 346 = *RICIS* 501/0116) found in the area of the Pantheon and now embedded in the wall of the Sala del Fauno in the Musei Capitolini (IV 10) probably also commemorates this exceptional event. The altar was dedicated to Isis by Crescens, a slave of 'CAESARIS VESPASIANI' (probably Titus) after a vision and is dated to AD 71-79; see Lanciani 1883a, 33; Lembke 1994, 91, 140, no. B 1.

[663] Eingartner 1999, 30, 38.

[664] Kähler 1939, 400-401, no. 45 (to Kähler the Iseum in question could be either the Iseum Campense or the Iseum in Regio III); Kleiner 1990, 131-134 (Kleiner associates the 'Arcus' with the Iseum in Regio III); Lembke 1994, 28, 67-69 (Lembke associates the 'Arcus' with the pre-Domitianic Iseum Campense). Contra this theory, see Castagnoli 1941, 65-66, 69; De Maria 1988, 292-294, no. 77; Ensoli 1998, 427, n. 54. These three scholars all associate the 'Arcus' with the Iseum Campense, but argue for a Domitianic date. See also Appendix F below.

to commemorate the victory over Judaea.[665] It follows that Domitian included this arch in his rebuilding and reorganisation of this part of the Campus Martius after the fire of AD 80. According to Lembke, however, it was only during this rebuilding that the sanctuary proper got its '*ägyptisierenden Charakter*'.[666]

A series of sestertii minted at Rome (6), Tarraco (1), and Lugdunum (1) between AD 71 and 73 would seem to contradict Lembke's argument. The obverses of these coins show a laureate bust of Vespasian and the legend: IMP.CAES.VESPASIAN.AVG.P.M.T.P.P.P.COS.III. The reverses show a prostyle tetrastyle temple on a podium of five steps with an unusual semicircular pediment. This temple has been identified as the temple of Isis Campensis.[667] (Fig. 38) The steps of the temple are flanked by low walls and, at the bottom, by two egyptianising statues (with the double crown) and recumbent sphinxes or lions. A winged solar disc and *uraei* decorate the frieze above the four Corinthian columns of the façade. On the tympanum of the semicircular pediment, a figure of Isis-Sothis holding a sistrum in her raised right hand rides a dog among six stars.[668] Above the elaborately ornamented pediment three falcons (with the double crown) stand as acroteria. The double frieze above the door to the cella is decorated with a winged solar disc and *uraei*, respectively. Inside the cella stands a Graeco-Roman statue of the goddess Isis holding a *patera* in her right hand and a *situla* in her left.[669]

Figure 38

Lembke suggests that these coins commemorate the night that Vespasian and Titus spent in the Iseum, i.e., the night before the triumph over Judaea, and that the unusual decision to stay there was directly associated with Vespasian's sojourn at Alexandria including the miraculous events in and around the great Serapeum in AD 69/70. As argued above, the legitimacy and acceptance of Vespasian and the new dynasty was closely linked to the events in Egypt, which provided the *gens Flavia* with a mythical reputation. Although crucial, virtue by reputation alone, however, was not

[665] Dio Cass. 65.7.2. describes how the senate bestowed different honours - including the construction of arches - upon Vespasian and Titus in AD 70.
[666] Lembke 1994, 69-70.
[667] Dressel 1909, 640-648; Mattingly 1930, 189, no. 780, Pl. 35.3; Malaise 1972, 208-210, no. 391; Lembke 1994, 179-181; *SNRIS*, 189-190, 241-243.
[668] The word 'Sothis' is the Greek form of the Egyptian word for Sirius, the Dog Star. In Egypt, the heliacal rising of Sirius marked the annual flooding of the Nile and the epithet emphasises Isis' role as the guarantor of the fertility of Egypt and the entire Roman world; see Clerc 1978, 247-281.
[669] Roullet 1992, 30-32; Lembke 1994, 180-181.

enough and Vespasian's claim to power was strongly supported by the victory in Judaea too. This war demonstrated the military *virtus* of the Flavians and the divine patronage of Isis seems to have secured its successful outcome.[670] Moreover, as discussed above, Vespasian probably commemorated the victory by the erection of the Arco di Camilliano. Thus, in Rome (and Beneventum), the stories of Vespasian's healing and military powers materialised – and in that sense proved – themselves in the architectural and sculptural layout of the Iseum Campense.

Based on the evidence of Josephus and the sestertii of Vespasian it seems reasonable to suggest that the 'Egyptian' image of the Iseum dates back at least to the early Flavian period.[671] Yet, whether 'Egyptian' or not, when was the pre-Domitianic Iseum built? As mentioned in the Introduction, the Iseum Campense has, because of its status as the greatest of the Roman *Isea*, traditionally acted as a magnet for Egyptian and egyptianising sculpture found all over Rome. This 'magnetic effect' has also affected the scholarly treatment of the literary sources in the sense that every time there is mention of 'Isis' or of a 'temple of Isis' it is generally associated with the Iseum Campense.

According to this 'literary tradition', the first Iseum in the Campus Martius is to be associated with a temple to Serapis and Isis vowed or rather voted for (*ἐψηφίσαντο*) by the triumvirs (Octavian, Lepidus, and Mark Antony) in 43 BC.[672] In AD 19, during the reign of Tiberius, this temple, supposedly, was destroyed and the statue of Isis thrown into the Tiber in response to the scandal of Decius Mundus who, in the guise of Anubis, had seduced the Roman matron Paulina.[673] Next, Josephus records how in AD 71 Vespasian and Titus spent the night before their joint triumph in the Iseum.[674] Thus, a new Iseum must have been built in the Campus Martius sometime between AD 19 and 71.[675] Since Mommsen - after an ingenious calculation - placed the date of the introduction of the festival of Osiris (the *inuentio Osiridis*) at Rome between AD 36 and 39, the (re-)building of

[670] Malaise 1972a, 407-414; Adamo Muscettola 1994, 87; Scheid 2004, 310; 2009, 181; Bricault 2010, 275.
[671] This is also suggested by the dedication to Isis set up by the imperial slave Crescens during the reign of Vespasian; see *CIL* VI[1], 346 = *RICIS* 501/0116 and note 662 above.
[672] Dio Cass. 47.15.4; Coarelli 1982, 64; 1996, 107-108; Le Glay 1987, 548-550; Darwall-Smith 1996, 140.
[673] Joseph *AJ* 18.65-80; Tac. *Ann.* 2.85.4 (Tacitus does not mention the scandal as such, but records a resolution made by the Senate in AD 19 expelling the Egyptian and Jewish worship); Suet. *Tib.* 36 (About the measures taken by Tiberius against the Egyptian and Jewish rites).
[674] Joseph *BJ* 7.123.
[675] The *terminus ante quem* is usually given as AD 65 on the basis of a passage in the *Pharsalia* in which Lucan indicates that the cults of Isis were again tolerated at Rome under Nero; see Luc. 8, 831-833. Lucan died in April AD 65.

this temple has traditionally been associated with Caligula.[676] Hence, it was in this 'Julio-Claudian' temple that Vespasian and Titus spent the night before the triumph and which shortly after appeared on the sestertii of AD 71-73 before its destruction in AD 80.[677]

However, as Scheid has recently argued, the literary sources traditionally used by scholars to support the idea of a late republican and early imperial, i.e., pre-Flavian, phase of the Iseum Campense are vague and do not necessarily refer to the Egyptian sanctuary in the Campus Martius.[678] Indeed, as suggested by Scheid, it seems much more likely that the construction and dedication of the Iseum Campense took place during the reign of Vespasian. According to this hypothesis, the Iseum may have been the result of a vow – a religious obligation – made by Vespasian while in Alexandria during the civil war of AD 69. It was normal procedure for Roman generals on campaign to make such vows, which – if fulfilled – led to the construction of many new temples in Rome. If successful, the general would request the Senate for public approval (and funding) and then fulfil the vow.[679] Once the victory of Vespasian was assured in January AD 70, the building of the temple could begin and by June AD 71, though probably still under construction, the temple would have been dedicated. The sanctuary including the 'Arco di Camilliano' thus commemorated the Flavian victory in Judaea – a victory secured by the Egyptian gods.[680] In this case, the sestertii with the egyptianising temple façade not only commemorated the Flavian stay in the Iseum but also, and more importantly, its dedication.

Admittedly, the suggested rapidity of construction and dedication is remarkable and may be subject to future adjustments. It should be remembered, however, that other Flavian monuments, such as the Templum Pacis and the Colosseum, once decided also seem to have been completed, or partially completed, within a relatively short period of time. As the Iseum, these monuments in various ways commemorated the Jewish war and the restoration of peace, and work must have started at the very beginning of Vespasian's reign. According to Josephus, the Templum Pacis was *'[…] very speedily completed […]*' and was dedicated by Vespasian already in AD 75.[681]

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[676] *CIL* I^2 (1893), 333-334 (*Fasti anni Iuliani*); Wissowa 1902, 292-299; the argument is elaborated by Malaise 1972a, 221-228 who argues for an introduction of the *inuentio Osiridis* between AD 40 and 43, i.e., during the reign of either Caligula or Claudius. See also Lembke 1994, 67, 89-90, 181.

[677] Malaise 1972, 213; 1972a, 400-401; Roullet 1972, 23; Ensoli 1998, 411-413. When suggesting, albeit hesitantly, that the construction of the egyptianising temple depicted on the sestertii of Vespasian dates back to the reign of Caligula, Lembke is contradicting her initial claim that the Iseum got its Egyptian character under Domitian; see Lembke 1994, 67, 69-70, 181. For the fire of AD 80, see Dio Cass. 66.24.1-3.

[678] Scheid 2004, 308-311; 2009, 174-181. The literary references might as well apply to other *Isea* in Rome, e.g., the Iseum Metellinum on the Caelian and/or the cult of Isis Capitolina.

[679] Orlin 1997, 35-75.

[680] Malaise 1972a, 407-417; Scheid 2004, 310; 2009, 181-182; Bricault 2010, 275.

[681] Joseph *BJ* 7.158; Dio Cass. 65.15.1; for the Templum Pacis see also Noreña 2003; Millar 2005, 109-112.

The dedication of the Colosseum took place under Titus in AD 80, however, the initial dedication of the then partially completed amphitheatre seems to have taken place under Vespasian and construction was only completed during the reign of Domitian.[682] The scale and technical complexity of these building projects not only radically transformed the cityscape of Rome, but also created a sense of community and political identity (embodied by the new dynasty) after a year of civil war and political unrest.[683]

As mentioned above, scholars traditionally associate the building of the temple of Isis in the Campus Martius with the official recognition of the Egyptian cults at Rome. Indeed, as noted by Scheid, the location of the temple in the midst of public buildings makes it unlikely that the Iseum Campense was a private sanctuary.[684] Likewise, the exceptional display of Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures in the sanctuary strongly suggests public or imperial involvement. If, as argued here, the Iseum was built under Vespasian, this might possibly have coincided with the official introduction of the Egyptian cults at Rome.[685]

Finally, it is important to note that the architecture and sculptural decoration of the Isis-temple on the sestertii of Vespasian combines distinctive Egyptian elements (e.g., the semi-circular pediment, the *uraei*, and the rigid statues) with typical Roman ones (e.g., the high podium, the Corinthian columns, and the statues in contrapposto stance). Thus, the sestertii constitute a further argument in support of the view expressed throughout this thesis that the Romans when encountering the 'exotic' in the form of, e.g., the Egyptian statues and architectural features of the Iseum, they did not set the 'exotic' apart but actively appropriated it. Consequently, the artistic traditions of Egypt and Rome merged into a coherent visual whole.

What was left of the pre-Domitianic temple and its furnishings after the fire of AD 80? Did it burn to the ground or was it only partially destroyed? Was part of the building material dismantled and reused in later restorations as suggested by the pavement slabs with egyptianising reliefs? I will return to these questions later in this chapter. First, I turn to the evidence of two rare

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[682] *Chron. min.* 146 M (under Vespasian the '*amphitheatrum*' had three '*gradus*', Titus added two more and Domitian completed it); for the dedicatory inscription of the Colosseum, see Alföldy 1995, 195-226; *CIL* VI[8], fasc. II, 40454a; moreover Millar 2005, 113-119.

[683] For the relationship between 'colossal architecture' and the formation of 'collective identity', see Assmann 2011, 124-131.

[684] Scheid 2009, 180-181. The hypothesis associating the building of the Iseum with the introduction of the cult of Isis was first proposed by Wissowa 1902, 294.

[685] Grenier 1987, 959, n. 44; Adamo Muscettola 1994, 87; Scheid 2004, 310-311; 2009, 182-184; There is no scholarly consensus, however, as to when (if ever) the Egyptian cults were officially recognised at Rome; see most recently Coarelli 2005, 85-89; Malaise 2011, 185-199.

series of denarii minted at Rome between AD 94-96, which probably depicts the Domitianic temples of Isis and Serapis 'Campensis' respectively.

The obverse of the denarii (2) with the temple of Isis shows a portrait of Domitian and the legend: DOMITIΛNVS ΛVG GERM. The reverse has the legend 'IMP CΛES' and shows a prostyle tetrastyle temple on a podium of three steps with an unusual flat roof without pediment. (Fig. 39) It should be mentioned, that the odd design of the building has led some scholars to identify the four columns of the façade with an arch with the cult statue of a temple visible in the background.[686] The temple is variously identified as a temple of Cybele or as that of Isis 'Campensis'.[687] Both interpretations depend on the identification of the central figure on the roof: according to Mattingly, it is Magna Mater on a lion flanked by two lions; according to Turcan, followed by Lembke, it is Isis on a dog flanked by two sphinxes or falcons (?). In her reconstruction of the Iseum Campense, Lembke tentatively locates this temple in the northern part of the sanctuary.[688]

Figure 39

To support the identification of the temple as that of Isis Campensis, Lembke stresses the similarities between the temple depicted on the denarii of Domitian and that on the sestertii of Vespasian. Among the similarities are the following: the standing Graeco-Roman cult image with a situla in the left hand,[689] the prostyle tetrastyle temple façade of the Corinthian (?) order, the uraeus frieze above the entablature, and finally the statue group on the roof. That a statue of Isis-Sothis decorated the roof (or pediment) of the Iseum of Domitian seems likely not only because a similar statue decorated the pediment of the Vespasianic temple, but also because, albeit much later, such a pediment sculpture is described by Cassius Dio. Thus, amongst other portents occurring at Rome during the reign of Elagabalus (AD 218-222), the statue of Isis, '*[…] who is represented as riding on a dog above the pediment of her temple […]*' turned her face towards the interior of her temple.[690] Lembke moreover emphasises the flat roof of

[686] Turcan 1983, 24; Adamo Muscettola 1994, 95. Turcan identifies the arch with the 'Arcus ad Isis' depicted on the 'Sacra Via' relief from the tomb of the Haterii; Adamo Muscettola identifies it with the 'Arch of Cybele' depicted on the same relief.
[687] Temple of Cybele: e.g., Mattingly 1930, 346, nos. 239-240, Pl. 67.5-6; Darwall-Smith 1996, 139. Temple of Isis Campensis: e.g., Turcan 1983, 24; Lembke 1994, 181-183, Taf. 4, 2a-b and 4, 3a-b; Ensoli 1998, 413; *SNRIS*, 190.
[688] Lembke 1994, 23, 25.
[689] Unlike the cult statue on the Vespasianic *sestertii* holding a *patera*, this statue holds a sistrum in her raised right hand; Turcan 1983, 24; *SNRIS*, 190. It is not a sceptre as suggested by Lembke 1994, 182.
[690] Dio Cass. 80.10.1. '*[…] ὃ ὑπὲρ τὸ ἀέτωμα τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτῆς ἐπὶ κυνὸς ὀχεῖται […]*' - whether this temple is that of Isis Campensis, of course, remains unclear, see generally Clerc 1978, 255-257. Ensoli 1998, 421-423; 2000, 276 identifies

the temple, which suggests Egyptian and Near Eastern influences,[691] and finally argues that there is no evidence connecting Domitian to Magna Mater or to the restoration of any of her sanctuaries.[692]

The arguments put forward by Lembke are generally convincing, although certain reservations may be noted. First, as indicated by Lembke herself, the general appearance of the Domitianic Iseum is less egyptianising than the Iseum depicted on the coins of Vespasian.[693] Although perfectly plausible, this 'less egyptianising' external appearance of the temple seems to contradict Lembke's general assertion that the Iseum got its distinctive 'egyptianising character' under Domitian.[694] Secondly, although neither archaeological evidence nor written sources credit Domitian with the construction or restoration of a temple of Cybele, there is increasing evidence to suggest that the cult of Cybele together with that of Isis witnessed a politically motivated revival under the Flavians.[695] As argued in Chapter 6, this 'revival' is emphasised, among other things, by the Flavian restoration of the temple of Cybele at Herculaneum in AD 76[696] as well as by the contemporary establishment of joint priesthoods and sanctuaries of Isis and Cybele in Italy – possibly also at Beneventum – and in some of the western provinces of the empire.[697]

All this being said, however, the attributes of the cult statue, i.e., the sistrum and the situla, the uraeus frieze above the entablature as well as the goddess seated side-saddle on a dog (?) on the roof clearly associate the building on the denarii of Domitian with Isis – and most likely with her temple in the Campus Martius.

The second denarius (1) of Domitian depicts a temple of Serapis. The obverse of this coin shows a portrait of Domitian and the legend: DOMITIΛNVS ΛVG GERM. The reverse has the legend 'IMP CΛES' and shows a prostyle tetrastyle temple on a podium of three steps. (Fig. 40) Scholars generally identify this temple as a Serapeum and some scholars identify it as the Serapeum

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the statue of Isis, the so-called 'Madama Lucrezia', in the Piazza S. Marco with the pediment sculpture of Isis-Sothis in the Iseum Campense.

[691] For the 'flat roof' in ancient Near Eastern architecture, see Leick 1988, 179-180; semicircular pediments, flat roofs and walls topped by friezes of uraei are characteristic of Alexandrian tomb architecture, see Adriani 1963, Tav. 38-39 and 99, figs. 138, 140-141, 332.

[692] Lembke 1994, 181-182; this is also emphasised by Turcan 1983, 24.

[693] Missing are the semicircular pediment, the winged solar disc of the friezes and the rigidly frontal statues at the bottom of the steps; Lembke 1994, 182.

[694] Lembke 1994, 69-70. Among the architectural features of the Domitianic sanctuary, Lembke mentions the columns with egyptianising reliefs (186-188, D 3-6), a group of papyrus capitals (192-193, D 22-27), a fragment of entablature with egyptianising motif (193-195, D 29), and the Pamphilj obelisk (210-212, D 55). Whether or not these fragments were associated with the temple building proper, however, remains uncertain; see also Ensoli 1998, 419-421.

[695] Adamo Muscettola 1994, 83-118; Bricault 2010, 265-284.

[696] *CIL* X, 1406; Tran tam Tinh 1971, 91, no. 64; Gasparini 2010, 229-264.

[697] Bricault 2010, 265-284; at Beneventum the association of Magna Mater and Isis is suggested by the two lions found among the Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures of the Iseum; see Müller 1969, 74-78, nos. 273-274 and Chapter 6, 'The ruins of the Santi Quaranta', above.

of the Iseum Campense.[698] In her reconstruction of the Iseum Campense, Lembke tentatively locates this temple in the northern part of the sanctuary next to the temple of Isis described above.[699]

The four Corinthian columns of the façade frame a seated Graeco-Roman cult statue of Serapis wearing a *polos* on his head and holding a *patera* in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. At his feet, to the right of the throne, sits Cerberus (?). The entablature is undecorated, but an eagle with a wreath in its beak decorates the triangular pediment above. On top of the pediment stands a quadriga flanked by corner acroteria in the form of statues (?). The spaces between the acroteria and the quadriga are decorated with stylised floral ornaments.

Figure 40

The architectural style of this temple is clearly Graeco-Roman and, as mentioned above, Lembke tentatively locates it in the northern part of the sanctuary. The suggested location of the 'Graeco-Roman' Serapeum in the otherwise 'Egyptian' northern part of the sanctuary would constitute yet another argument in favour of the view expressed here about the merging of Egyptian and Graeco-Roman art and architecture in the sanctuary. Indeed, Lembke suggests associating the colossal 'Graeco-Roman' marble foot in the Via del Piè di Marmo with the cult statue of Serapis depicted on the denarius.[700]

The sculptural decoration of the Iseum

In the following sections, I will extend the discussion of the layout and location of the Iseum Campense to include the sculptural programme of the sanctuary. First, I will discuss the evidence of the Pamphilj obelisk as well as the Egyptian obelisks associated with the Iseum before proceeding to a short assessment of the additional Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures. Finally, based on an examination of the Graeco-Roman sculptures, I will question the traditional reconstructions of the sculptural display of the Iseum and argue instead for a more nuanced understanding of the interplay between the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman elements of the sanctuary. As we will see, when documented, the find circumstances of the sculptures seem to support the assumption that the

[698] This identification was first suggested by Hill 1989, 29, 122; followed by Lembke 1994, 182-183; Darwall-Smith 1996, 145; see also Mattingly 1930, 345, no. 238, Pl. 67.4.
[699] Lembke 1994, 23, 25; for a different view on the location of the temple of Serapis, see Ensoli 1998, 413-417. Ensoli associates the Serapeum on the denarius with one of the two temples of the *porticus Divorum* and suggests a divine assimilation between Serapis (and Anubis?) and the deified emperors Vespasian and Titus.
[700] Lembke 1994, 182-183, 219-220, no. E 6.

Egyptian and Graeco-Roman artistic styles and motifs worked together in the Iseum forming a coherent visual whole. Moreover, from a larger perspective, Domitian's reorganisation and rebuilding of the central part of the Campus Martius - including the Iseum, the temple of Minerva Chalcidica, and the *porticus Divorum* - reflect a similar dialogue between 'Egyptian' and 'Graeco-Roman' architectural styles and artistic forms.

The obelisks of the Iseum

Presently, the obelisks associated with the Iseum form a group consisting of one large and seven smaller obelisks. The large obelisk is identical with the so-called Pamphilj obelisk, which today stands above Bernini's Fountain of the Four Rivers in the Piazza Navona. (Fig. 1) Yet, originally, Domitian erected this obelisk and, as we will see, it is in fact a Roman monument in Egyptian disguise. Thus, the material and form of the obelisk is Egyptian, its content, however, is purely Roman. The smaller obelisks, on the other hand, are genuinely Egyptian. The pharaohs, Ramses II and Apries, originally erected these obelisks at Heliopolis and Sais respectively. (Figs. 43-44) They were probably moved to Rome during the Flavian period and are closely connected to the Iseum Campense both archaeologically and historically. The state of preservation of four of these obelisks is generally good while the remaining three obelisks are reconstructed from variously sized fragments. I will begin with a discussion of the Pamphilj obelisk and then move on to discuss the evidence of the smaller, Egyptian obelisks.

The Pamphilj obelisk

The original location of the Pamphilj obelisk is a subject of scholarly controversy.[701] In the early 4th century AD, Maxentius moved the obelisk to his circus on the Via Appia, but we do not know from where he moved it. In 1898, Marucchi tentatively suggested an association between the obelisk and the *Iseum*. Iversen took up this idea in 1968 and suggested that the square indicated in the forecourt to the *Iseum* on the FUR (35t) represented the obelisk.[702] (Fig. 35) Most scholars have generally accepted this view; however, based on the dynastic acclamations of the inscription other scholars have associated the obelisk with another Flavian monument, i.e., the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* on the Quirinal Hill.[703]

[701] See most recently Grenier 2009, 237-238.
[702] Marucchi 1898, 130; 1917, 119-120; Iversen 1968, 80-81.
[703] Grenier 1999, 229; 2009, 237-238; Coarelli 2009, 94.

The inscription of the obelisk itself is not of much help.[704] Unlike the inscriptions on the Beneventan obelisks, the inscription on the Pamphilj obelisk does not say where nor when Domitian erected it. Nevertheless, the inscription provides important insights into an often-neglected aspect of Flavian ideology and self-representation. Probably, the inscription only escaped the erasure incurred by Domitian's *damnatio memoriae* in AD 96 because of the illegibility of the hieroglyphs.[705] In the Roman imperial period, hieroglyphic writing was a dying tradition and longer texts, such as the one on the obelisk, were probably translations of Greek drafts. Moreover, the unusual palaeography of the hieroglyphs suggests that (Roman) artisans, inexperienced in the art of engraving hieroglyphs, carved the inscription.[706] (Fig. 41)


Figure 41

The following translation of the inscription repeats the only English edition of the text as published by Darwall-Smith (1996); the reading order, however, follows Grenier (2009).[707] In what follows, Darwall-Smith's translation is preceded by a brief description of the scenes of the pyramidion. The *pyramidion* was discovered slightly later than the shaft of the obelisk and therefore we do not know how it matched the inscription.[708] Moreover, some of the text passages are corrupt due to Kircher's 17th century restoration of the obelisk.[709] I will comment on a few of the most obscure passages in the footnotes.

[704] Erman 1917, 4-10, 18-28; Iversen 1968, 76-92; Malaise 1972, 203-207; Grenier 1987, 937-961; 1999; 225-231; 2009, 234-239; Lembke 1994, 210-212; Darwall-Smith 1996, 145-150; Baines and Whitehouse 2005, 409-410 ; *RICIS* 501/0124; *LTUR* III, 357-358 .
[705] Grenier 1987, 958, n. 41. For the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian, see Varner 2004, 111-135; moreover Suet. *Dom.* 23.1; Dio Cass. 68.1.1.
[706] It is likely, although not certain, that Egyptian priests affiliated to Italian sanctuaries were responsible for these translations; see Baines and Whitehouse 2005, 405, 409; for the palaeography of the hieroglyphs, see Malaise 1972, 207; Darwall-Smith 1996, 147-148; Grenier 2009, 234.
[707] Darwall-Smith 1996, 146-147; Grenier 2009, 239. Erman's critical edition of the text remains authoritative; see Erman 1917, 18-28.
[708] Darwall-Smith 1996, 149. According to Grenier, the *pyramidion* was re-discovered *in situ*, i.e., in the Circus of Maxentius, at the end of the 19th century; Grenier 1987, 958, n. 40; 2009, 234. However, considering the fact that both Kircher (1650, folding plate and 435-454) and Zoëga (1797, 83, 587) describe and illustrate the *pyramidion* in their works, this seems unlikely. In fact, the *pyramidion* was found separately but only slightly later than the fragments of the shaft. The *pyramidion* was in a poor state of conservation and copies were made for the obelisk on the Piazza Navona. Meanwhile the original fragments of the *pyramidion* were left in front of the stables of the Palazzo Pamphilj from where they later entered S. Borgia's museum in Velletri. At some time between 1805 and 1839/1842, the *pyramidion* became part of the MGE in the Vatican, where it is still to be seen (inv. 25059); see Marucchi 1899, 310-311, no. 46a; 1917, 109-111; Iversen 1968, 86.
[709] Malaise 1972, 203.

West face, I:

The scene on the *pyramidion* depicts, in the centre, Domitian wearing the Double Crown (*Pschent*). In front of him, to the right, stands a goddess wearing the basileion (disc, horns, wheat-ears and tall feathers) holding a small *pschent* in her hands. Behind Domitian, to the left, stands a god wearing a crown consisting of a flat base, sun disc, and feathers.

Ia: Horus: the mighty bull, beloved of Maat; Dual King: the Lord of the Two Lands, the Lord of performing rituals; son of Re, the Lord of Diadems: "Autocrator Caesar Domitianus, beloved of Isis".[710]

Ib: The good god, the living image of Re, the Lord of […], excellent […], without […] Ptah Tenen,

Ic: in whose mouth the two goddesses put their breast and whom both *the hippopotamus goddesses*[711] have lain down in his swaddling-clothes, around whom the Hathors beat tambourines, to whom the great office is given, upon whose head the mistress of mankind has created her uraeus, living like Re for all time.

South face, II:

The scene on the *pyramidion* depicts, in the centre, Domitian wearing a composite crown consisting of three vertical feathers placed over ram horns. In front of him, to the left, a goddess wearing the Hathor crown (cow horns and disc) hands him the Crown of Lower Egypt (*Deshret*). Behind Domitian, to the right, a goddess wearing a composite and not easily identifiable crown offers him the Crown of Upper Egypt (*Hedjet*).

IIa: Horus, beloved of the two lands, beloved of the Ruler of the Shore, the good god, great of strength, with outstretched arm, who overthrows enemies; a champion who acts with his arm, in whose presence one cannot stand, for fear of whom the land quivers […]

[710] Text placed between inverted commas indicates that the hieroglyphs are enclosed in a cartouche on the obelisk.

[711] The 'hippopotamus goddesses' such as Taweret (Thoeris), Ipet (Opet), Reret and Hedjet were popular protective household goddesses, generally indistinguishable from one another. They have hybrid bodies: half hippopotamus, and half crocodile, with feline or human hands and feet and are generally associated with female fertility, childbirth, and child rearing, see *LÄ* VI, *Thoeris*, cols. 494-497.

IIb: […] sitting on the Horus-throne, one who makes sound the sanctuaries of the gods, who drives away his rebels, who slaughters the *Iuntiu* tribesmen,[712] who gathers tribute from the lands of Asia, and whose uraeus pursues the *Bedouin*.[713]

IIc: He has filled the land with his gifts, everything which is and is not being inundated with his life-force; one who is excellent of counsel in everything he has done, great of name to the heights of heaven, whose honour extends to the sun's rays, lord of the Two Lands, "Caesar Domitianus", living for all time.

East face, III:

The scene on the *pyramidion* depicts, in the centre, Domitian wearing a composite crown consisting of tall feathers, ram horns with uraeus, and a sun disc decorated with an image of a winged scarab. In front of him, to the right, a goddess wearing the Crown of Upper Egypt (*Hedjet*) holds out the sceptre and the image of Maat (harmony, truth). Behind Domitian, to the left, a falcon-headed Horus wearing the Double Crown (*Pschent*) offers him a sun disc encircled by a uraeus.

IIIa: Horus whose face Gods and men praise, when he takes the kingship of his father "Vespasian the god" from his older brother "Titus the god", whose soul flew to heaven; *Two Ladies*:[714] the valiant, the protector, excellent wall of the whole land;

IIIb: *Horus the Ombite*:[715] great of strength, who does excellent things, a lord of jubilees like Ptah-Tenen, a sovereign like Re; Dual King, the Lord of the Two Lands, the excellent heir, beloved of the gods of Egypt, "Autocrator"; the son of Re, the Lord of the Diadems: "Caesar Domitianus Sebastos", beloved of Isis and Ptah, living like Re.

North face, IV:

The scene on the *pyramidion* depicts, in the centre, Domitian wearing the Double Crown (*Pschent*) holding a sceptre in his left raised hand. In front of him, to the left, a goddess wearing the basileion

[712] A generic designation of the desert nomads of Nubia, i.e., Nubian tribesmen. In Greek, these people were also known as *Trog(l)odytai*, see *LÄ* VI, *Trogodyten*, col. 767; *DNP* 12/1, col. 851.

[713] The *Heriou-châ*, i.e., the desert nomads.

[714] The 'two ladies' are the goddesses Wadjet of Buto and Nekhbet of Hierakonpolis representatives of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively. Grenier 2009, 237, translates the passage as follows: "the one who holds the two diadems", i.e., the vulture of Upper Egypt and the uraeus of Lower Egypt.

[715] Or in the translation of Grenier 2009, 237: "Horus of gold". 'Horus the Ombite' is an allusion to Seth and the conflict between Seth and Osiris/Horus, see *LÄ*, III, *Horus und Seth*, cols. 25-27. Seth was the main god of Nubt, the town of gold, known in Greek as Ombos, situated near Naqada on the spur of the Eastern Desert; see *LÄ* IV, *Ombos*, cols. 567-569.

(disc, horns, and feathers (?)) holds forth her open right hand in a protective gesture. Behind Domitian, to the right, an ibis-headed Thoth wearing a disc and the *atef*-crown (?) seems to be performing a similar ritual.

IVa: Horus the strong youth: The lord of the two diadems, great in strength; Horus the Ombite: whom his father has caused to ascend; the Dual King, the Lord of the Two Lands: "Caesar Domitianus".
IVb: He has erected this obelisk in real granite for his father Re-Herakhte to cause men to see the monument which he has made, so that the name of the Dual King sitting on the Horus-throne shall be caused to endure together with the well-being which has come to pass in the time of the *gens Flauia*,
IVc: and so that he shall bring to memory the strength of his fathers. He is one who restores what was desolate, and who fills up what was found empty, one who surpasses his ancestors, being occupied in seeking their benefit, so that they shall give to him life, stability and power, living like Re for all time.

From the inscription, we learn that Domitian, in accordance with Egyptian tradition, dedicated the obelisk to his father Re-Harakhte (the Sun god) but otherwise the text celebrates Domitian and the *gens Flavia*. As in the case of the Beneventan obelisks, Domitian uses the formal Egyptian royal titulary in the inscription. This titulary consists of five names: Horus name, Nebty-name (the Two Ladies name), Golden Horus name, and finally the throne (prenomen) and personal (nomen) names.[716] On the present north and east faces of the obelisk, the titulary (except the nomen of course) is literally taken over from Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Ptolemy III Euergetes respectively. On the south and west faces the obelisk, the titulary repeats those of Pepi I (or Nectanebo II) and Ramses II.[717] Traditionally, scholars have interpreted Domitian's use of the royal titulary as an expression of his monarchical approach to the Principate, i.e., his alleged aspirations towards deification. In other words, Domitian's assumption and public display of the royal titulary in Italy would be in accordance with his insistence on being addressed as '*Dominus et deus*' (Master and God). [718]

[716] Erman 1896, 150; 1917, 18; Grenier 1987, 938-941, 948-952; Lembke 1994, 37, 93. Thus Domitian's full title was: vigorous youth; the one whose strength is great; the one who was crowned by his father; King of Upper and Lower Egypt and lord of the two lands "Caesar Domitian".
[717] Erman 1917, 18, 22, 25, 26; Lembke 1994, 37-41; Grenier 2009, 234, 237.
[718] Suet. *Dom.* 13.2; Dio Cass. 67.4.7; Lembke 1994, 92-94. Except for the inscription on the Pamphilj obelisk there is, however, not much evidence – epigraphically or other – to support the theory that Domitian claimed divine honours in

We do not know whether Latin inscriptions were added to the base of the obelisk as a supplement to the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the shaft. It seems clear, however, that only few people in Flavian Rome would have been able to read and understand the hieroglyphic text.[719] Indeed, in my opinion, the exact wording of the inscription was not as important as we tend to think. The contemporary message of the obelisk was less about Domitian's divine aspirations as about his (divine) right to rule as the legitimate heir of Vespasian and Titus. This message was conveyed through the hieroglyphic inscription[720] but also, and perhaps more importantly, through the monument itself. Most people, if not everybody, would have recognised the unmistakably Egyptian nature of the obelisk. Egypt, as we have seen, constituted an important cornerstone in the establishment of the Flavian dynasty and provided the *gens Flavia* with its quasi-divine right to rule. For Domitian, I argue, there was no better way to convey the message of his legitimacy than by using an archetypal Egyptian monument as the obelisk. At the same time, the obelisk was a useful vehicle for Domitian to associate himself with the 'good' emperor Augustus. It is important to remember that Domitian, besides this obelisk, also restored the solar meridian of Augustus in the Campus Martius in which an Egyptian obelisk served as the gnomon, or marker.[721] These gestures were consistent with the larger Flavian policy of 'continuity' and 'renewal' and established a connection between Domitian and the founder of the Principate.[722]

As emphasised above, we do not know the original location of the obelisk. It does not figure in Pliny's list of Roman obelisks[723] or in any of the later 4th century literary sources on Roman obelisks and topography, e.g., Ammianus Marcellinus and the so-called Regionary catalogues.[724] The inscription on the north face of the obelisk mentions that Domitian restored and completed (literally 'filled up') something (a building?) that was found 'deserted' and 'empty'. How are we to interpret this passage? Is it a reference to the architectural context in which the obelisk was erected, or is it a generic reference to the Flavian (Domitianic) building programme as such?[725] The southern Campus Martius including the Iseum was devastated by fire in AD 80 and although there is little additional

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his lifetime; see Scott 1936, 102-112; Jones 1992, 108-109. The important point is, as noted by Gradel, that in Rome '*all such worship and titulature were […] of a private and informal nature […]*'; Gradel 2009, 160, 227-228; moreover La Rocca 2009, 228, 230 on the ambiguous status of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* as both mausoleum and *templum*.

[719] Baines and Whitehouse 2005, 405.

[720] This is especially evident in texts on the present east and north faces of the obelisk; see p. 148-149 above.

[721] Heslin 2007, 16-18.

[722] Hurlet 1993, 261-280; Griffin 2000, 11-25.

[723] Plin. *HN* 36.71-74. The *Natural History* was dedicated to Titus in AD 77, but most of the books were published after Pliny's death in AD 79.

[724] Amm. Marc. 17.4.12-23; for the Notitia and Curiosum Urbis Romae regionum XIIII, see Jordan 1871, 539-574.

[725] Darwall-Smith 1996, 148-149.

evidence to support the idea scholars have tentatively interpreted this passage of the inscription as a reference to Domitian's subsequent reconstruction of the area.[726] If we follow this hypothesis, the obelisk could, as suggested by Iversen, correspond to the square (ca. 2 x 2 m) indicated in the courtyard area of the Iseum Campense on the FUR.[727]

Other scholars, especially Grenier, have, as already mentioned, argued for a different location of the Pamphilj obelisk. According to this view, Domitian erected the obelisk in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, a monument primarily known from literary sources. Domitian dedicated this *templum* to his deified *gens* around AD 89-94/95 and it probably functioned as a combined mausoleum and place of imperial worship.[728] According to Suetonius, the *templum* was constructed on the site of Domitian's birthplace somewhere on the Quirinal Hill and based on the descriptions in Martial and Statius; scholars generally assume that the monument had a round plan.[729] As a solar monument and a symbol of eternity the Pamphilj obelisk would, so Grenier, fit perfectly into this 'celestial' context. A location of the obelisk in the *Templum Gentis Flaviae* would also explain the dynastic acclamations in the inscription.[730]

However, it is important to note, that the interpretation of Martial and Statius' poems – especially their use of the words *polus* and *caelum* – is controversial and, as demonstrated by Darwall-Smith, these words do not necessarily refer to the shape of the temple.[731] Thus, we do not know what the temple looked like. However, D. Candilio recently suggested associating the structures, a monumental colonnade, discovered in the foundations of the south-west corner of the Baths of Diocletian with the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*.[732] The Flavian sculptures found in the same area, i.e., the so-called Hartwig-reliefs and a colossal head of Titus, would support this identification.[733] It seems likely, therefore, that the temple, whatever its form, was situated within a large colonnaded square.[734]

To Grenier it is, however, not only the supposed circular form of the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*, but also the 'dynastic' rather than 'isiac' nature of the hieroglyphic inscription, which makes

[726] Grenier 1987, 952; Lembke 1994, 38, 212.
[727] Iversen 1968, 60; Roullet 1972, 72-73; Malaise 1972, 203-204; Lembke 1994, 145; Ensoli 1998, 427-428.
[728] Several members of the *gens Flavia*, including Vespasian, were buried there; see Coarelli 1995, 368-369; La Rocca 2009, 228.
[729] Suet. *Dom.* 1.1; 5.1; 15.2; 17.3; Mart. IX.1; 3, 11-12; 20, 1-2; 34, 1-2 and Stat. *Silv.* IV, 3, 18-19; see also Coarelli 1995, 368-369.
[730] Grenier 2009, 238.
[731] Darwall-Smith 1996, 159-165; La Rocca 2009, 230; see also Candilio 1990-1991, 181-182.
[732] Candilio 1990-1991, 178-183.
[733] Gazda and Haeckl 1996; La Rocca 2009, 224-233.
[734] La Rocca 2009, 224-230.

an association between the Pamphilj obelisk and the Flavian *templum* on the Quirinal likely.[735] Lembke also notices that the *gens Flavia*, not Isis, are the real protagonists of the inscription. Although Domitian, in accordance with Pharaonic tradition, is twice called 'beloved of Isis' on the present east and west sides of the obelisk there is no special emphasis on Isis. However, by enhancing the important role of Isis in the scenes on the *pyramidion*, Lembke argues for a continued association between the obelisk and the Iseum Campense.[736] (Fig. 42) Yet, the identification of the goddesses on the *pyramidion* is a matter of scholarly debate, and again Isis does not seem to have played a dominant role.[737] In any case, to someone standing on the ground the images of the *pyramidion* would have been largely indistinguishable.


Figure 42

In my opinion, there is no conflict between the 'dynastic' nature of the inscription and a location of the obelisk in the Iseum Campense. Rather, it would support the argument that Domitian's interest in 'Egypt' went beyond mere religious considerations. 'Egypt' was the founding place of the Flavian dynasty and thereby of Domitian's own legitimacy to rule. As argued elsewhere, the Egyptian nature of the obelisk, in itself, does not imply that it originally stood in an egyptianising (and/or religious) context like the Iseum Campense. The content of the inscription, on the other hand, does not exclude that this was actually the case. Indeed, as noted above, the obelisk - and its inscription - is not an isolated monument exclusively related to the Iseum Campense but an element in Domitian's larger reorganisation and restoration of the central part of the Campus Martius. In this building programme, which had a strong dynastic character, the obelisk, together with the temple of Minerva Chalcidica, occupied a central location between the Iseum Campense to the north and the *porticus Divorum* to the south-east.

Finally, we must briefly address the question of *when* the obelisk was erected; what may have been the (historical) occasion for the erection of the obelisk? Based on the content of the

[735] Grenier 1987, 937 (in this study, Grenier associates the Pamphilj obelisk with the Iseum Campense); 1999, 229; 2009, 237-238. Grenier accepts that an obelisk may have adorned the courtyard of the Iseum Campense, cf. the square on the FUR, and he suggests replacing the Pamphilj obelisk with one of the obelisks reused as door steps in the nearby church of S. Andrea della Valle and in the Palazzo Giustiniani. Whether these doorsteps are in fact obelisks is, however, questionable; see Lembke 1994, 213, nos. 56-57.
[736] Lembke 1994, 40-41, 212, see also Iversen 1968, 80-81.
[737] Grenier 2009, 237-238.

inscriptions, we know that in Pharaonic Egypt obelisks usually commemorated Royal jubilees, military victories or other great achievements.[738] In the case of the Beneventan obelisks, the inscriptions say that they commemorated the safe (and victorious) return of Domitian from a military campaign around AD 88/89. Yet, as we have seen, the inscription on the Pamphilj obelisk has no clear indication of *where* or indeed *when* or *why* it was erected. However, the dynastic acclamations of the inscription, absent in the inscriptions from Beneventum, would, all other things being equal, provide a date *ante quem* for the inscription in Rome. It is thus reasonable to assume, as does Lembke, that the obelisk in Rome commemorated Domitian's accession to the Principate in AD 81.[739] Although not necessarily finished, the reorganisation and rebuilding of the southern Campus Martius, including the Iseum Campense, would have been well under way at that time.

The Egyptian obelisks

Although the location of the Pamphilj obelisk remains controversial, there can be no doubt that at least four Egyptian obelisks form part of the sculptural decoration of the sanctuary. These obelisks have been found in or are historically closely associated with the area of the Iseum Campense. (Appendix B, nos. 75-77, 79) Two of the obelisks are still standing in the area of the Iseum (Piazza della Minerva and Piazza della Rotonda) (Figs. 43-44) while a third obelisk found in the Campus Martius was moved to the piazza in front of the Stazione Termini in 1887.[740] The fourth obelisk also found in the Campus Martius was transferred to the Boboli Gardens in Florence in 1789/1790.[741]

The obelisks are characterised by their small size with an average height of ca. 6 metres. They are made of red Aswan granite and carry hieroglyphic inscriptions on the four faces of the shafts. The inscription on the obelisk in the Piazza della Minerva records that Apries, a pharaoh of the 26th dynasty, originally raised the obelisk in Sais, the city of Neith, in the western Nile Delta.

[738] Habachi 1977, 8-9.
[739] Lembke 1994, 40-41.
[740] The obelisk in the Piazza della Rotonda (since 1711) was first recorded by A. Magliabecchianus ca. 1410-1415 in the area of S. Macuto (Via del Seminario) and it was probably found ca. 1375 during a reconstruction of the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. The obelisk in the Piazza della Minerva (since 1667) was found in 1665 in the gardens of the Dominican Monastery next to the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. In 1883, Lanciani excavated the third obelisk in the Via del Beato Angelico and shortly after, in 1887, it was re-erected in the Piazza dei Cinquecento. Since 1924, it has been standing in the garden north of the Viale delle Terme di Diocleziano; see Lanciani 1883a, 35-36; Iversen 1968, 93-100, 101-105, 174-177; Malaise 1972, 199-200, nos. 369, 371 and 375; Roullet 1972, 74-77, nos. 74, 76 and 78; Lembke 1994, 202-203, 206-207, nos. D 48-49 and 52; Grenier in *LTUR* III, 358-359.
[741] This obelisk was found in the middle of the 16th century behind the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva. Around 1570 Cardinal Ricci (1498-1574) acquired it and re-erected it in his villa on the Pincio (now the Villa Medici). In 1789/1790, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopold II of Habsburg-Lorraine, moved the obelisk to its present location in the Boboli Gardens in Florence; see Lanciani 1883a, 42-43; Malaise 1972, 199, no. 370; Roullet 1972, 75, no. 75; Lembke 1994, 204, no. D 50.

Considering the Roman, possibly Flavian, recontextualisation of the obelisk, it is important to remember that the Greeks (and Romans), starting with Herodotus, identified Neith with Athena. As such, in the Roman period, the Greek historian Plutarch identifies the "Athena of Sais" with Isis.[742] According to their inscriptions, Ramses II, the great pharaoh of the 19th dynasty, originally dedicated the remaining three obelisks in Heliopolis, the city of the sun god Re-Harakhte.

In addition to these four obelisks, the fragments of at least another three are often associated with the Iseum Campense. (Appendix B, nos. 78, 80-81) These fragmentary obelisks are of the same type, size, and age as the four obelisks described above. The obelisk now standing in the Piazza del Duomo at Urbino is composed of five fragments, generally denoted "blocks A-E".[743] These "blocks" originally belonged to two, perhaps three, different obelisks: one raised in Sais dedicated by Apries (blocks A+C) and one dedicated by Ramses II and probably erected in Heliopolis (blocks B+E). Block D has no inscription. Historically, the fragments are closely associated with the area of the Iseum Campense.[744] However, in 1729, the Jesuits, who, at that time, had their headquarters in the Palazzo Gabrielli-Borromeo next to the church of S. Macuto in the Via di Sant' Ignazio, donated the fragments to Cardinal A. Albano (1692-1779) who again gave them to his native town of Urbino.


Figure 43

The Urbino fragments attributed to Ramses II (B+E) as well as additional fragments in the Vatican (inv. 52653 and 53652) are usually associated with the obelisk now standing in the Villa Mattei-Celimontana on the Caelian Hill in Rome.[745] Only the upper part of this obelisk is preserved (H. 2, 68 m) but like the fragments in Urbino and in the Vatican it carries the cartouche of Ramses II. Unlike the fragments, however, the Mattei-Celimontana obelisk is historically associated with the Capitoline Hill and not with the area of the Iseum Campense. The earliest literary mention associating the Celimontana obelisk with the Capitol

[742] Hdt. 2.28.1, 2.59.3; Plut. *Mor. De Is. et Os.* 354C; Kolta 1968, 96-104; Malaise 1972a, 416-417.
[743] Müller 1954, 143-149.
[744] The fragments (blocks A, B, and C) were already described and depicted in the literature of the late 15th, 16th and 17th century; see Lanciani 1883a, 41; Müller 1954, 144-145; Roullet 1972, 76, no. 77, figs. 94-95; Lembke 1992, 13-20; 1994, 204-206, no. D 51, 208-209, no. D 53.
[745] Iversen 1968, 106-114; Malaise 1972, 200, no. 372; Roullet 1972, 73-74, no. 73; Lembke 1994, 204-206, no. D 51. This obelisk was given to the nobleman C. Mattei (died 1614) by the Senate and people of Rome in September 1582. A few years later Mattei re-erected the obelisk in his Villa on the Caelian Hill.

is from 1407, however, we do not know by whom or when it was placed there.[746] Scholars therefore disagree as to whether this obelisk originally belonged to the sculptural decoration of the Iseum Campense or to that of the temple of Isis Capitolina. Iversen associates the Mattei-Celimontana obelisk with the two fragments (B+E) in Urbino and consequently argues for an original location of the obelisk in the Iseum Campense.[747] Lembke seeks to strengthen this argument by suggesting that the fragments in the Vatican (inv. 52653 and 53652) originally belonged to the Mattei-Celimontana obelisk too.[748] Coarelli, on the contrary, finds it unlikely that anyone in the troubled Rome of the 13th-14th centuries would have had the surplus energy to move the obelisk from the Campus Martius to the Capitol and he thus argues for an original location of the obelisk somewhere on the Capitoline Hill.[749]

In my opinion, however, none of the arguments put forward by Iversen and Coarelli are really convincing. Although typologically the Mattei-Celimontana obelisk would fit the group of small obelisks from the Iseum Campense we cannot, with our present knowledge of the obelisk, be sure that this was its original location. The fragments in Urbino and the Vatican linking the Mattei-Celimontana obelisk to the Campus Martius were heavily reworked in post-Antique times and they did not necessarily belong to the obelisk. Even though the dedicator, Ramses II, is the same, the fragments could stem from another obelisk raised by that pharaoh. As for Coarelli's doubts about the feasibility of moving the obelisk during the troubled years of the 13th and 14th centuries, I would argue that in ancient and Medieval Rome freestanding statuary including 'small' obelisks generally (and continuously) moved about - in good as well as in bad times.[750] Such relocations also involved the Roman *aegyptiaca*, e.g., the Pamphilj obelisk, moved to the Circus of Maxentius in the 4th century, and the two recumbent lions at the foot of the Capitol, transferred to the Lateran Basilica as early as the 12th century.[751]

Finally, the fragments of what must have belonged to a third obelisk dedicated by a ruler of the Late Period (Apries?) exist in the Vatican (inv. 25057-25058). These fragments were

[746] Iversen and D'Onofrio suggest that the obelisk was put up during the short-lived dictatorship of C. di Rienzo in 1347; other scholars mention the Jubilee 1300 during the pontificate of Bonifacius VIII as a possible occasion for the re-erection of the monument; see Iversen 1968, 106-114; D'Onofrio 1992, 61-81.
[747] Iversen 1968, 106-107.
[748] Lembke 1992, 13-20; 1995, 12.
[749] Coarelli 2009, 222-223; Grenier in *LTUR* III, 356; see also Coarelli 1996a, 113. It is a matter of controversy whether Isis Capitolina had a temple on the Capitol or not. Indeed, the temple is not (yet) attested archaeologically and the documentation thus consists of literary and epigraphic sources; see Malaise 1972, 184-187, no. 340; Versluys 2004, 421-448; Coarelli 2009, 222-223.
[750] See generally, Bartman 1991, 72; Curran 1994, 46-58.
[751] Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 71-85; Lembke 1994, 221-223, nos. E 10-11.

reproduced in the so-called *Codex Ursinianus* between 1534 and 1587 and the note accompanying the drawing says that, at the time, the fragments were walled up in the church of S. Macuto.[752] Like the blocks in Urbino, these fragments are thus historically associated with the area of the Iseum Campense and originally probably belonged to the sculptural decoration of the sanctuary.

Thus, to sum up, it is possible to reconstruct the presence of at least six, maybe seven Egyptian obelisks (if we include the one in the Villa Mattei-Celimontana) within the area of the sanctuary: four dedicated by Ramses II, two by Apries and one by a ruler of the Late Period. In Egypt, obelisks were, with a few exceptions, always erected in pairs[753] and scholars assume that originally the 'small' Roman obelisks formed pairs too. Yet, exactly how they matched remains unclear.[754] This should remind us that our knowledge about the original number of obelisks and their Roman context(s) is incomplete. It seems clear, however, that the original number of 'small' obelisks was greater than the seven obelisks described above and that at least some of these obelisks belonged to the sculptural decoration of the Iseum.

In the cases where the find context of the obelisks are either known or can be reasonably estimated, they have been found within a relatively limited area in and around the Via del Beato Angelico, i.e., the area immediately behind the apse of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva.[755] In the Roman period, this area corresponded to the northern part of the sanctuary. The ancient layout of this part of the sanctuary is largely unknown; however, a fragment of the FUR (36a) (Fig. 35) reproduces a small section of the western outer wall of the Iseum with a row of four dots in front of it. This part of the Iseum ran parallel to the *porticus Meleagri*, i.e., the eastern portico of the Saepta Julia.[756]

Based on the row of dots on fragment 36a Roullet suggests reconstructing a portico along the western, northern, and eastern outer wall of this part of the sanctuary. In Roullet's reconstruction, the obelisks together with pairs of sphinxes and lions flank a central dromos leading

[752] Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439, Bl. 5 v; Roullet 1972, Pl. 68, 94 (the fragment in the upper left corner); Lembke 1995, 6-9, Abb. 1-3; see also Lembke 1994, 209-210, no. D 54.
[753] Iversen 1968, 15; Meskell 2004, 7.
[754] Iversen suggests the following grouping: Villa Mattei-Celimontana and Piazza Rotonda (Ramses II); Viale delle Terme di Diocleziano and Boboli Gardens, Florence (Ramses II); Piazza della Minerva and Urbino blocks A+C (Apries); Iversen 1968, 93, note 1, 101, 174 and fig. 149; see also D'Onofrio 1992, 54-56; Coarelli 1996a,113. Grenier suggests the following combination: Piazza Rotonda and Viale delle Terme di Diocleziano (Ramses II); Boboli Gardens, Florence and Urbino blocks B+E (Ramses II); Piazza della Minerva and Urbino blocks A+C (Apries); Grenier in *LTUR* III, 358-359; see also Lanciani 1883, 244. Based on the differences in the (reconstructed) height of the obelisks of Apries in Rome and Urbino, Müller rejects the idea that they once formed a pair, see Müller 1954, 147.
[755] See Lembke 1994, 255: "Fundplan" nos. D 48-50 and D 51 (below the Collegio Romano/Via di Sant' Ignazio) and D 52 (in the Dominican Monastery north of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva).
[756] Carettoni et al. 1960, tav. 31, 97-102, esp. p. 100; see also the section on the 'FUR' above.

to the temple proper.[757] (Fig. 49) However, as noted by Coarelli, the intercolumniation of the portico would have been far too large corresponding to approx. 12-15 m (scale 1:1). Instead of columns, Coarelli proposes to identify the dots with the Egyptian obelisks. According to this view, the obelisks alternated with sphinxes and formed a processional way (dromos).[758] Alfano, followed by Lembke, is more cautious in her assessment of the location of the Egyptian obelisks. Although the obelisks were found within a limited area, none of them was found *in situ*. Alfano also notes that on the FUR the location of the Pamphilj obelisk is indicated with a square, and not a circle. Moreover, in the neighbouring *porticus Divorum* on the same map, Carettoni et al. tentatively interpret similar rows of dots as trees. While Alfano suggests identifying the dots on FUR 36a with statue bases or honorary columns, Lembke finally leaves the question of the original location of the small obelisks open.[759]

Figure 44

Finally, and most recently, Ensoli has suggested that the dots may represent circular well curbs. She bases this interpretation on the complex network of water and drainage channels in the northern part of the sanctuary attested by Lanciani's excavations in 1883 and in those conducted by Alfano in the beginning of the 1990's.[760] Water played an important role in the rituals of the cult of Isis and probably the sanctuary was fed with water from Agrippa's Aqua Virgo, whose final stretch ran along the northern boundary of the Iseum.[761] The sculpture of a crocodile - probably in situ - was found during Lanciani's excavations '*in un canale tutto lastricato di marmi*' six metres below the modern street level and it seems likely that a euripus or other water channel flowed along the north-south axis of the sanctuary.[762]

[757] Roullet 1972, 27, 29-30.
[758] Coarelli 1982, 64; 1996, 108; see also Grenier in *LTUR*, 358-359; Davies 2011, 359.
[759] Alfano 1992a, 16; Lembke 1994, 21, 23-25, 146; see also Carettoni et al. 1960, 99. In Lembke's reconstruction of the northern part of the Iseum, the dots of FUR 36a are identified as either obelisks or trees. Lembke rejects Roullet's idea of a central dromos leading to the temple of Isis because the obelisks were found west of the axis suggested by Roullet. Moreover, Lembke's reconstruction contains two *naoi* and not, as Roullet's, a single *naos* approached via a dromos.
[760] Ensoli 1998, 419; 2000, 274-276; moreover, Alfano 1992a, 18; Lanciani 1883, 244-245; 1883a, 47-48, 58.
[761] Frontin. *Aq*. 22: "Virgo's arches begin below the Horti Luculliani; they end in the Campus Martius alongside the front of the Saepta." The arcade followed the line of what is now the Via del Seminario; see also Alfano 1992a, 16, 18-19.
[762] Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 42; see also Lembke 1994, 22, 201, no. D 45, 239-240, no. E 39 (MC, inv. 24); quotation from Lanciani 1883, 244. Contra Alfano 1998, 195-196, who doubts that the crocodile was found *in situ* because its surface shows no signs of erosion by water.

Thus, the question of the original location of the Egyptian obelisks in the Iseum as well as the question of their depiction on the FUR remains unclear. Like the Pamphilj obelisk, none of the 'small' obelisks are mentioned in Pliny's list of obelisks or in any of the late antique sources.[763] On the other hand, there is no doubt that Egyptian obelisks formed part of the sculptural decoration of the northern part of the sanctuary. Although no additional evidence supports the association between Domitian and the obelisks it is generally accepted that he was the one who brought the obelisks to Rome and the Iseum. This assumption finds support in the link between Domitian and the Pamphilj obelisk and the obelisks in Beneventum, which at least suggests that Domitian was familiar with obelisks and how to put them into use. Finally, we do not know from where the obelisks were removed. They may have been removed from their original contexts in Heliopolis and Sais, but they might as well have been carried away from a secondary context, e.g., Alexandria.[764]

The Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures

In this section, I will continue the analysis of the sculptural decoration of the Iseum by providing a brief overview of the additional Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures (henceforth *aegyptiaca*).[765] The summary is intended to give a general idea of the subject matters, materials, dates, display and function of this group of sculptures within the sanctuary. A number of diagrams illustrating the chronological distribution of the sculptures as well as their different materials and places of discovery supplement the summary. All relevant data on the individual sculptures are given in Appendix B.

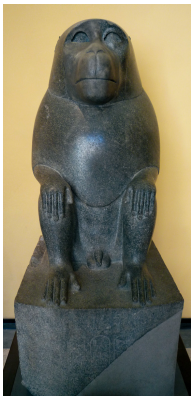
Figure 45

Of the 131 sculptures, architectural remains and inscriptions associated with the Iseum, 65, corresponding to ca. 50%, have been found in the Via del Beato Angelico and within the so-called *Insula Domenicana*, i.e., in the northern part of the sanctuary. (Diagram B7) The majority of the *aegyptiaca*, with the exception of a few pieces, come from this area, representing ca. 77% (50) of the finds from this part of the Iseum. As mentioned above, the find

[763] Plin. *HN* 36.71-74. The *Natural History* was dedicated and partly published in AD 77, which could indicate a *terminus post quem* for the erection of the obelisks. However, Pliny's list of 'Roman' obelisks was not necessarily complete or meant to be so.
[764] The majority of the Alexandrian *aegyptiaca* of pre-Ptolemaic date appear to have been removed from Heliopolis and to a lesser extent from Sais and other temple sites in the Nile Delta; Yoyotte 1998, 202-204; McKenzie 2003, 45-47; Francocci 2003, 258-262; Yoyotte et al. 2006, 378. In the *Geography*, Strabo describes Heliopolis as '*entirely deserted*' (νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἐστι πανέρημος ἡ πόλις), Strabo 17.1.27.
[765] For a detailed catalogue and analysis of the Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures, see Lembke 1994, 18-64, 221-243, nos. E 10-46; moreover Ensoli Vittozzi 1990; Ensoli 1998; Lollio Barberi et al. 1995.

circumstances of these sculptures are often inadequately recorded, however, none of them appears to have been found *in situ*.[766] The sculptures represent a variety of different subjects, including lions, sphinxes, baboons, (Fig. 45) a crocodile, (Fig. 37) *naophoroi* (priests bearing a small temple), pharaohs, gods and goddesses. In Egypt, this type of sculpture was typically displayed in sanctuaries. The architectural elements include Egyptian and egyptianising wall reliefs, papyrus capitals and columns carved in the round with figures of priests carrying various sacred objects in high relief. The number of extant *aegyptiaca* from the Iseum is about 60.


Figure 46

The oldest sculpture represents a bust of the 12th dynasty pharaoh Amenemhat III (ca. 1859-1813 BC) (Fig. 46), and the latest (securely dated) an egyptianising baboon of AD 159, i.e., a chronological span of approximately two millennia. Of the 131 objects associated with the Iseum, ca. 30% (38) are Egyptian imports of the Pharaonic (20%) and Ptolemaic (9%) periods. The remaining objects date to the Roman imperial period (especially the 1st-2nd centuries AD) and of these, about 30% (40) can be characterised as 'egyptianising'. (Diagrams B8a-b) The imported Egyptian sculptures are typically made of the red and dark grey granite from Aswan and other hard and dark stones, such as greywacke and basalt, quarried in the Eastern and Western Desert.[767] (Tables VI-VII) The egyptianising sculptures, on the other hand, are made of both Egyptian stones, often the red Aswan granite, and stones of Italian origin, such as white Carrara marble and grey Elba granite. (Tables II, IV, V)[768] Thus, of the 107 sculptures and architectural remains (inscriptions, walls, paving and arches excluded) associated with the Iseum, 56, corresponding to ca. 50%, are carved from Egyptian stones. (Diagram B9)

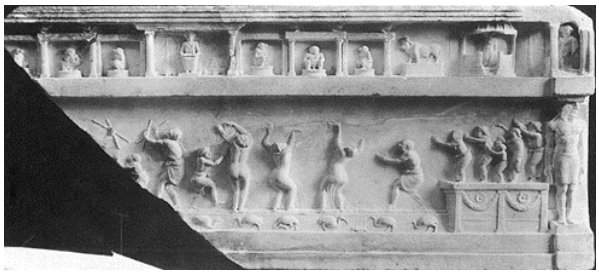
Figure 47

Based on the archaeological evidence, a reconstruction of the original arrangement of the sculptures within the Iseum is not possible. Thus, the suggested reconstructions are often based

[766] Lembke 1994, 30; Alfano 1998, 195-196. The sculptures were found grouped together within a relatively restricted area (ca. 40 x 20 m) of the northern courtyard (ca. 140 x 65 m). As in the case of the obelisks, the association between some of the sculptures and the Iseum is sometimes based on historical rather than archaeological sources; see, e.g., Lembke 1994, 221- 224, nos. E 10-11 and 13-14.
[767] Lembke 1994, 34-36.
[768] Lembke 1994, 36, 41-42, 48; for the egyptianising columns in Elba granite, see Bongrani 1992, 67; for the egyptianising reliefs in white marble, see Alfano 1998, 202-206.

on secondary sources, e.g., the FUR, the iconography of the Flavian coins depicting two egyptianising temples as well as the iconography of a relief from Ariccia with a representation of a ritual performance set within an Egyptian sanctuary – perhaps the Iseum Campense.[769] (Fig. 47) Moreover, scholars have emphasised the layout of some of the Egyptian sanctuaries, especially the *Serapea* of Saqqara (Memphis) and Alexandria, as possible models for the layout of the Iseum Campense.[770]

As mentioned above, Roullet's reconstruction of the Iseum features a dromos running along the central axis of the northern courtyard area, linking the temple of Isis, standing at the very North end of the sanctuary (towards the Via del Seminario), with the central courtyard and the temple

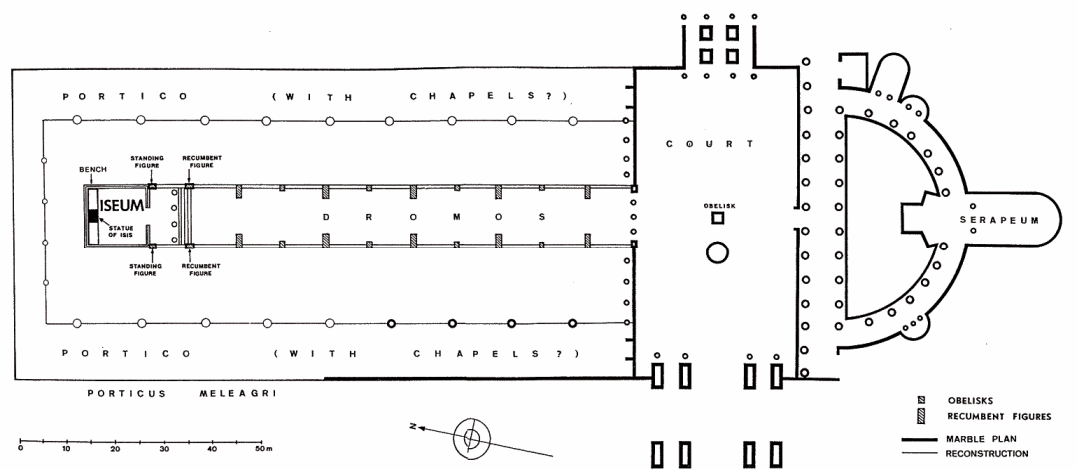

Figure 48

of Serapis (?) in the exedra at the southern end of the sanctuary.[771] (Fig. 48) Based on Martial's reference to the Iseum as '*Memphitica templa*' as well as on the famous sphinx-lined avenue of the Serapeum of Saqqara, Roullet suggests that the dromos of the Iseum was bordered with pairs of lions, sphinxes and small obelisks.[772] Furthermore, the evidence of FUR 36a and the relief from Ariccia suggests that a portico consisting of the colossal egyptianising relief columns (ø 0, 95 m) with lotiform

[769] For the coins, see the section on 'The literary and numismatic evidence', above; the marble relief, now in the MNR Palazzo Altemps, inv. 77255, was found reused in an inhumation grave located along the Via Appia near Ariccia in 1919, see Lembke 1994, 174-176, no. C 1; Manera and Mazza 2001, 109, no. 77.
[770] Roullet 1972, 23-32 (Serapeum of Saqqara); Lembke 1994, 50-55 (*Serapea* of Saqqara and Alexandria); Sist 1997, 305 (temple of Isis at Philae); see also Brenk 2007; 2007a; Malaise 2005, 205-206.
[771] Roullet 1972, 23-32, fig. 352.
[772] Mart. II.14, 7; Strabo 17.1.32 (the sphinxes of Saqqara); for the obelisks, see the section on 'The Egyptian obelisks', above; for the Serapeum of Saqqara and the lions and sphinxes of the Iseum Campense, see Lembke 1994, 50-53, 221-226, nos. E 10-17, 240-242, nos. E 41-45; moreover Coarelli 1982, 64; 1996, 108.

capitals surrounded the northern part of the Iseum. This portico was divided into a number of small 'chapels' or *aediculae* occupied by squatting figures of baboons (Thoth).[773]

Lembke rejects Roullet's reconstruction of the Iseum as too uncertain and conjectural. According to Lembke, the available evidence, i.e., the FUR, the Ariccia relief, the Flavian coins and in particular the (albeit limited) find contexts of the sculptures, does not allow for the reconstruction of either a portico, the adjoining *aediculae* or a dromos.[774] In Lembke's own reconstruction of the Iseum, (Fig. 49) she tentatively places the egyptianising relief columns, intended to be viewed in the round, in the passageway between the central courtyard and the northern part of the sanctuary (FUR 35t). Based on the iconography of the Ariccia relief, she furthermore suggests that the baboons may have been displayed in the rectangular spaces (niches?) located in the south-eastern corner of the central courtyard (FUR 35m). Lembke, moreover, proposes that the Egyptian and egyptianising reliefs adorned the walls of the northern part of the sanctuary and, finally, based on the evidence of the Domitianic denarii, suggests the existence of two temples in the northern part of the sanctuary: one for Isis in egyptianising style, and one for Serapis in Graeco-Roman style.[775]

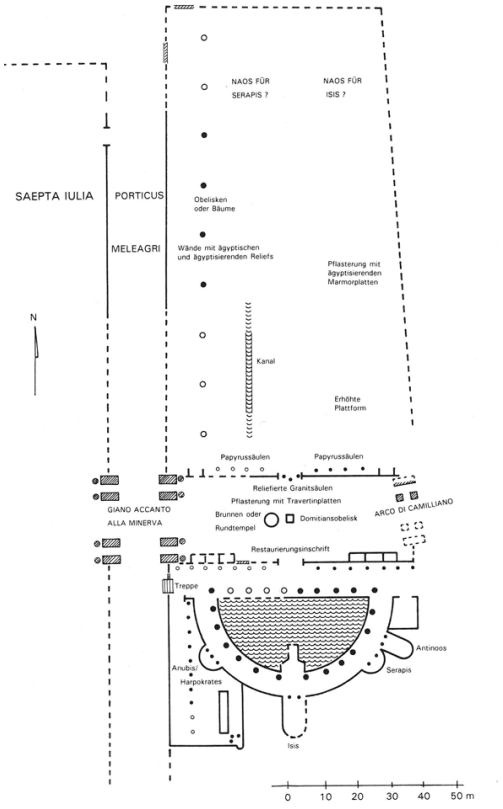

Figure 49

In this connection, it should be mentioned that Ensoli in her study of the Iseum associates the egyptianising relief columns with the façade of an egyptianising temple, which she, based on Canina's description of a stepped structure discovered in the Via del Beato Angelico (casa Silvestrelli) in 1853, locates in the south-western corner of the northern part of the sanctuary. Ensoli further suggests that

[773] Roullet 1972, 27-29; see also Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 65-67; for the relief columns with papyrus capitals and the baboons, see Lembke 1994, 186-188, nos. D 3-6, 192-193, nos. D 21-27, 228-229, nos. E 20-21.
[774] Lembke 1994, 24, 30.
[775] Lembke 1994, 20-25 (including the reconstructed ground plan of the Iseum), 29, 42-48, 52, 134-135, 176-178.

the shaft and capital of a papyrus column, found at the same time, belonged to the inner order of the cella.[776]

According to Lembke, the analogies between the layout of the Iseum Campense and the layouts of the *Serapea* of Saqqara and Alexandria are mostly indirect. However, the coexistence of temples and sculptures of different periods and artistic styles was a common feature of all three sanctuaries.[777] In the case of the Iseum Campense, the statue of a baboon (Thoth) and a group of sphinxes, discovered near the church of S. Stefano del Cacco, and one of the egyptianising relief columns, found in the Via del Piè di Marmo, illustrate that there was no strict distinction between an 'Egyptian' north and a 'Graeco-Roman' south within the sanctuary. As we will see below, this 'coexistence' is further emphasised by the discovery of a number of 'Graeco-Roman' sculptures in the 'Egyptian' northern part of the sanctuary.[778]

As mentioned in the Introduction, scholars have used the idea of an 'Egyptian' north and a 'Graeco-Roman' south to reinforce the notion of the museum-like character of the 'Egyptian' part of the Iseum. According to this view, the *aegyptiaca* had a purely aesthetic function as '*schmückendes Beiwerk*' with little or no connection at all to the rituals of the cult.[779] On the other hand, other scholars have suggested that the sculptural decoration of the Iseum (or part of it), as in the case of Beneventum, may have reflected the importance of the public festivals of the cult, i.e., the *Navigium Isidis* in the spring and the *Inventio Osiridis* in the autumn.[780] In these festivals the figures of Horus, Thoth, Osiris-Canopus and, of course, Isis played central roles.[781] In addition to the suggested 'aesthetic value' and 'religious function' of the *aegyptiaca*, most scholars agree on their ideological significance, an aspect particularly evident in the inscription on the obelisk of Domitian.[782] (Fig. 41)

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[776] Ensoli 1998, 419-421; see also Canina 1852, 348-349, 351; the shaft and capital of the papyrus column are now in the Musei Vaticani, MGE inv. 68 and 77, see Botti and Romanelli 1951, 125, nos. 206-207. For the structure described by Canina, see the section on 'The architectural remains' above.

[777] Lembke 1994, 50-57; see also Thompson 1988, 212-276; McKenzie et al. 2004, 100-101.

[778] Lembke 1994, 28, 52, 186, no. D 3 = MC, inv. 2, 238, no. E 36 = Musei Vaticani, MGE, inv. 34; for the inscriptions on the baboon and the (now lost) sphinx(es), see *RICIS* 501/0123 and 501/0153; the earliest mention of the baboon is found in the *Polistoria* of G. Cavallini de Cerronibus from 1345-1347, see Urlichs 1871, 145-146.

[779] Lembke 1994, 31-33, 36, 50, 134, 136, quotation from p. 31; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 109-115, 178-182; see also Gregarek 1999, 117-118; Mania 2008, 114-119.

[780] Sist 1997, 304; Quack 2005, 404; Gasparini 2008, 86; 2009, 351; moreover Malaise 2005, 204-210.

[781] For the sculptural representations of Horus, Thot, Osiris-Canopus and Isis from the Iseum Campense, see Lembke 1994, 186-188, nos. D 3-6 (Osiris-Canopus), 228-229, nos. E 19-21 (Horus and Thoth), 230-231, no. E 23 (Isis), 238-239, nos. E 36-37 (Thoth), 245, no. E 49 (Cista Mystica, Anubis and Harpocrates), 248-249, no. E 56 (Osiris-Canopus). As argued by Beard et al. 1998, 278-291, the display of Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures was probably an important part of the appeal of the cult outside Egypt.

[782] See the section on 'The Pamphilj obelisk' above; moreover, Lembke 1994, 36-41, 90-94; 210-212, no. D 12. The ideological use of 'Egypt' is further suggested by a sphinx (MC, inv. 33) and a head (Frankfurt, private collection) if we

Thus, as argued elsewhere in this thesis, there is a tendency, on the part of some scholars, to distinguish the 'function' of the *aegyptiaca* – whether ideological or religious – from their aesthetic and tactile – 'museum-like'– qualities. However, I would argue, that in Rome the successful religious and/or ideological (re-)use and 'function' of the *aegyptiaca* was closely connected to their materiality, i.e., their aesthetic and tactile qualities. Clearly, the distinction between these religious, ideological and aesthetic functions and meanings of the *aegyptiaca* was fluid and constantly changing, but it was exactly this ambiguous character, which made them effective carriers of ideological messages.

Finally, the many formal similarities between the *aegyptiaca* of the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome should be mentioned. In both sanctuaries, obelisks, baboons, sphinxes, lions, pharaohs, egyptianising reliefs, and perhaps portrait sculptures of Domitian are a recurrent theme. Moreover, in both cases, the sculptures chronologically span a period of more than two millennia, from the 12th – 13th dynasties BC of the Middle Kingdom to the 2nd – 3rd century AD. Furthermore, only few – if any – of the sculptures of the two *Isea* have been found *in situ*.

The Graeco-Roman sculptures

In the following sections, I will describe each of the 'Graeco-Roman' sculptures associated with the Iseum Campense. These sculptures have been discovered in the area of the Iseum over a long period of time, beginning at least as early as the 15th century. This means that, in some cases, their association with the Iseum is based on historical sources rather than on the archaeological record. The group of Graeco-Roman sculptures represents five personifications of rivers, a colossal foot, a hand, a piece of drapery, the torso of a colossal female statue, a group of altars (of which only one is still extant), two bases of candelabra, and finally a monumental pinecone. Thus, 14 sculptures classify as 'Graeco-Roman', of these, ten are still extant while the present whereabouts of the remaining four is unknown. These figures may seem insignificant compared to the numerous Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures associated with the Iseum but it is important to bear in mind that these 'absolute numbers' most likely give a distorted picture of the sculptural decoration of the Iseum. Thus, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, 'Graeco-Roman' sculptures even when found in the area have usually not been assigned to the Iseum. Moreover, the activities of the limekiln 'della Pigna' in the Piazza di Sant'Andrea are likely to have affected the number of surviving Graeco-Roman sculptures too. In the

accept their identification as egyptianising portraits of Domitian as suggested by Lembke 1994, 241-243, nos. E 44, 46; see also Ashton 2010, 983-984.

following sections, I will first provide a description of the ten extant sculptures and then move on to describe the four lost ones. The descriptions are intended to give a general idea of the form, dimensions, material and date of the individual sculptures but, as mentioned above, they also serve to emphasise the assumption that the traditional distinction between an 'Egyptian' north and a 'Graeco-Roman' south is too rigid.

The statue of the Nile

The colossal statue of the Nile in yellowish-white, probably Greek, marble, was discovered in 1513 in the Via del Piè di Marmo, near the corner of the Via S. Stefano di Cacco.[783] (Fig. 50) It was transported to the Cortile del Belvedere in the Vatican during the pontificate of Leo X (1513-1521) and remained on display in the Vatican until 1797 when, under the terms of the Treaty of Tolentino, it was seized by Napoleon and taken to the Louvre in Paris. In 1815, however, the statue was returned to the Vatican and since 1822, it has been displayed in the Braccio Nuovo. It was first repaired in 1524-1525 and since fully restored by G. Sibilla during the pontificates of Clement XIV (1769-174) and Pius VI (1775-1799).

Figure 50

The personified Nile takes the form of a reclining bearded male. He is naked except for the mantle draped over his right thigh and the crown of vegetation around his head. He leans upon his left arm, which is resting on the back of a sphinx. In his left hand he holds a cornucopia, and in his right, a sheaf of wheat. The Nile is surrounded by sixteen children or 'putti'; three are playing with a crocodile lying at the right feet of the statue; two are engaged with an ichneumon (Pharaoh's rat) shown at the statue's left knee; five are grouped around the cornucopia and the sphinx while six are climbing the right leg, arm and shoulder of the statue. The four sides of the base are decorated with a

[783] Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti, inv. 2300, H. 1.65 m; L. 3.10 m; W. 1.47 m; Helbig[4] I, 338-339, no. 440; Klementa 1993, 24-25, no. A 14; Lembke 1994, 214-216, no. E 1. The site of discovery is mentioned by Fulvio, *Antiquitates Urbis* (1527, fol. 92b): '*[…] iuxta arcum nunc Campiliani sub proxima aede S. Stephani cognomento Caci: […]*', i.e., '… near the arch of Camilliano, next to the church of S. Stefano called Cacco …' (my translation). For the discovery and early modern history of the statue, see Brummer 1970, 191-204; for the Nilotic reliefs on the base, see Versluys 2002, 68-69, no. 15; Swetnam-Burland 2009, 444-453.

Nilotic scene including undulating lines/waves, crocodiles, hippopotami, and pygmies.[784] The majority of the sixteen children are reworked, but small remains on the statue confirm that there were in fact sixteen such figures. Restored are also the fingers of the right hand with the sheaf of wheat, the existence of which, however, is also certain. Other restored parts of the statue include the face, the crown around the head, the toes on both feet, as well as parts of the sphinx and the cornucopia.[785]

A series of drilled holes visible below the right knee of the Nile as well as its wave-decorated and slightly eroded base are usually taken as evidence that the statue was used as a fountain.[786] The statue's find spot, near S. Stefano del Cacco, associates it with the Iseum and more particularly with the sculptural decoration of the exedra in the southern part of the sanctuary known from the FUR. In Alfano's view, the semi-circular area defined by the portico of the exedra represents a large water basin, an interpretation reflected in Lembke's reconstruction of the Iseum too.[787] Based on this reading of the FUR, Alfano (followed by Lembke) assumes that the statue of the Nile was displayed within the water basin as part of a fountain.[788] The basin (and the Iseum in general) was probably fed by the Aqua Virgo, which, as noted above, supplied the Campus Martius with water.

The origins of the iconographic type of the reclining river-god are disputed. There was a tradition of river god imagery in both Italy and Greece extending back into the archaic period.[789] However, the appearance of personified rivers in Roman art in the form of a reclining old man with long hair and full beard seems to reflect a new prototype developed in the Hellenistic period and originating most likely in Alexandria in the late second century BC.[790] In the case of the Vatican Nile (particularly characterised by the number of putti) its date and relationship to a possible prototype,

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[784] A detailed description of the scenes on the base is provided by Lembke 1994, 26-28 (interpretation), 214-215 (description); see also Versluys 2002, 68-69, no. 15; for a recent interpretation of the scenes, see Swetnam-Burland 2009, 444-453.

[785] For a detailed description of the restorations, see Klementa 1993, 24 (A 14); 16th century drawings of the partly restored Nile are reproduced in Brummer 1970, 196-197, figs. 181 and 183.

[786] Swetnam-Burland 2009, 443-444, has recently questioned this interpretation. She emphasises the fact that the statue, together with that of the Tiber, was 'fully realized in the round' suggesting that they were not originally displayed as part of a fountain. However, if the statues were displayed within the pool, they would have been perfectly visible from the surrounding portico.

[787] Alfano 1992a, 15-16; Lembke 1994, 18-20, 25; see also FUR fragments 35m and 35uv above. For the possible theatrical aspects of this arrangement, see Nielsen 2002, 227-230.

[788] Alfano 1992a, 16; Lembke 1994, 26-28.

[789] Gais 1978, 355-370; Weiss 1984; Ostrowski 1991.

[790] Klementa 1993, 43-51; Lembke 1994, 215-216; Gasparri 2009, 44-45. Literary sources attest that representations of personified (conquered) rivers were paraded in the triumphs of late Republican and early Imperial Rome. Thus, *simulacra* of the Rhine, the Rhône, the Oceanus, the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Araxes were variously displayed in the triumphs of Caesar (46 BC) and Octavian (29 BC); Flor. 2.13.88; Prop. 2.1.31; Verg. *Aen* 8.726.8. Moreover, the representation of a river (the Jordan?), carried on a *ferculum*, in the small frieze on the arch of Titus suggests its display in the Flavian triumph of AD 71; for personified rivers in Roman triumphs, see generally Östenberg 2009, 215-218, 230-245. Note also the series of Alexandrian tetradrachms of AD 86-87 depicting Domitian on the obverse and a reclining Nile with sixteen putti on the reverse; Zimmermann 2003, 339-340, Abb. 5.

however, remains controversial. Most scholars agree that the fire of AD 80 provides a *terminus post quem* for the creation of the statue. Yet, there is little agreement as to whether the statue stylistically belongs in the late first or second century AD, although in most recent studies is it often associated with the reign of Hadrian.[791]

I will not discuss the question of typology further here. Nevertheless, in this context, it is important to note that some scholars associate the prototype of the Vatican Nile with a statue of the Nile displayed by Vespasian in the Templum Pacis.[792] As already noted above in the chapter on the Material make-up of the Flavian *Isea*, Pliny describes this statue in his treatment of the Egyptian stone greywacke. According to Pliny's description, the Nile had '*[…] sixteen of the river-god's children playing around him, these denoting the number of cubits reached by the river in flood at its highest desirable level.*'[793] Thus, a rise of sixteen cubits (ca. 8½ m) was the most desirable height and brought delight (*delicias*). A lower rise of twelve to thirteen cubits meant famine while a higher level shortened the sowing season.[794] We know from Cassius Dio that one of the omens foretelling Vespasian's ascension to the throne consisted in an ideal flooding of the Nile upon his entry into Alexandria in the summer of AD 69.[795] We also know that in Egypt this annual flooding was closely linked to the heliacal rising of the Dog Star, Sirius, deified as Isis-Sothis. Thus, the messages conveyed by the colossal statue of the Nile in the Templum Pacis would have been numerous.

From an ideological point of view, it seems likely that Vespasian's black Nile commemorated the propitious flooding of the Nile described above. More generally, the exotic material as well as the form and content of the statue would have reminded the viewer of 'Egypt' – famed for its prosperity and fertility.[796] In the Templum Pacis, however, the 'Greek' works of art, the spoils of 'Judaea' along with the wreaths of cinnamon – capturing the scent of the Far East – placed the statue of the Nile within the wider context of Flavian ideology.[797] In other words, the abundance,

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[791] Eingartner 1999, 24-25, 28, 37 (Julio-Claudian period); Lembke 1994, 214-216 (Domitianic period); Fuchs in Helbig^4 I, 388-339 (Flavian or Domitianic period); Swetnam-Burland 2009, 441-443 (Trajanic or Hadrianic period); Zimmermann 2003, 337-346 (Hadrianic period); Klementa 1993, 26-29 (late Hadrianic-early Antonine period).
[792] Jentel 1992, 720, no. 1; Klementa 1993, 28, 43-51; Lembke 1994, 214-216; Zimmermann 2003, 337-346. Sist 1997, 304, erroneously associates the Nile of Vespasian with the Ara Pacis in the Campus Martius.
[793] Plin. *HN* 36.58.
[794] Plin. *HN* 5.58.
[795] Dio Cass. 65.8.1
[796] In her reading of the statue, Bravi particularly emphasises its message of prosperity and abundance linked to the benefits of the *pax flavia*; see Bravi 2009, 177-178; 2012, 170-172.
[797] See Appendix D below; see also Bravi's reconstruction of the Templum Pacis, which tentatively places the statue of the Nile in the covered space north-east of the 'aula di culto'; Bravi 2012, 168, fig. 30. Note that the Judaean spoils and the gilded wreaths of cinnamon are not included in Bravi's reconstruction, which only includes the 'Greek' artworks. For the history of cinnamon in the West, see Dalby 2000, 36-41.

fertility, and 'imperial peace' proclaimed by the statue of the Nile and the Templum Pacis more generally were benefits gained through military victories, i.e., in this case, through the conquest of Judaea, a war divinely fought – and won – by the aid of Isis and Serapis.[798] As argued throughout this thesis, the idea of Egypt, a land of (divine) wonders, coupled with the harsh reality of Judaea, conquered and pacified, were pivotal for the establishment of Flavian legitimacy and rule at Rome. When viewed as a whole, the decoration of the Templum Pacis reflects this dialectical interplay between the 'imaginary' and 'real' foundations of Flavian rule.

Whether or not the statue of the Nile in the Iseum Campense evoked any of the above-mentioned (ideological) associations is difficult to determine. Generally, of course, the form and content of the statue would have conveyed the message of Egypt's fertility and abundance. A fact further emphasised by the statue's display within the water basin of the exedra. The difference between the material of the 'white' (though probably painted) Nile of the Iseum and the 'black' Nile of the Templum Pacis, however, would have affected the immediate visual impression of the two statues. If the Vatican Nile was part of the Domitianic layout of the Iseum, the ideological connotations of the statue would have been obvious, stressing the role of 'Egypt' in the rise of the Flavians and Domitian as the rightful heir to the throne. If, on the other hand, the statue was installed in the exedra at a later date, i.e., in the second century AD, the strong Flavian connotations of the image of the Nile would have been downplayed or redefined. In this case, the statue may of course have evoked the memory of 'good' emperors like Augustus and Vespasian and Egypt's crucial role in their rise to power. It may also have functioned as a reference to contemporary events in Egypt, however, more generally, the statue would have conveyed the message of Egypt as a land of plenty and vital source of corn. Indeed, as noted above, the Iseum Campense may have played a role in the redistribution of the *annona* in Rome from the second century onwards.[799] Moreover, it is important to remember that the Vatican Nile was displayed together with a statue of the Tiber, a juxtaposition that may have reflected Roman control over Egypt or, more generally, the extent of the empire.[800]

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[798] For the differences between the 'civilian' and 'military' types of 'pax', see most recently Noreña 2003, 34-36. Noreña convincingly argues that the Templum Pacis celebrated a 'pax' gained through the Flavian pacification of Judaea. For the divine patronage of Isis and Serapis, see Scheid 2009, 181-182.

[799] Ensoli 2000, 276-277; see also Chapter 3, 'The Roman *aegyptiaca* between sacred and profane', above. For the connection between the Nile and the *annona*, see Swetnam-Burland 2009, 442-443.

[800] Klementa 1993, 225-228, 248-251 (Rome's dominion over Egypt – and the world); Lembke 1994, 26-27 (Rome's commercial relations with Egypt); see also Swetnam-Burland 2009, 445, 453-455 who argue for an 'interactive mode of viewing', emphasising the multiple – sometime contradictory – interpretations of the pendant artworks.

The statue of the Tiber

The colossal statue of the Tiber in Pentelic marble was discovered in January 1512 during the pontificate of Julius II (1503-1513) in the Via del Piè di Marmo, near the corner of the Via S. Stefano di Cacco.[801] (Fig. 51) It was immediately (February 1512) brought to the Cortile del Belvedere in the Vatican and remained on display in the Vatican until 1797 when, under the terms of the Treaty of Tolentino, it was seized by Napoleon and taken to the Louvre in Paris. Like the statue of the Nile, it was first repaired in 1524-1525 and since fully restored by G. Sibilla during the pontificates of Clement XIV (1769-174) and Pius VI (1775-1799).

The personified Tiber takes the form of a reclining bearded male. He is naked but lies on a mantle draped over the left thigh and forearm, slung around the back, and reappearing at the front over the right forearm. Around his head, he wears a crown of laurel leaves tied with long ribbons falling over the shoulders. He leans upon his right arm, supported by a rock and the she-wolf suckling the twins Romulus and Remus. In his right hand, he holds a cornucopia and in his left, the shaft of an oar. The four sides of the base are decorated with reliefs of undulating lines/waves at the front, grazing animals, men navigating barges on a river, and finally with a mythological scene, which probably depicts the arrival of Aeneas (the figure seated upon the rock) in Italy (the buildings preceded by the white sow of Lavinium/Alba Longa).[802] In the letter to Isabella d'Este mentioned above, Grossino gave a detailed account of the state of the Tiber at the time of its discovery. According to Grossino, a piece of the nose, the upper half of the oar, the head and leg of one of the twins, the head and part of the body of the other, a piece of the jaw and ear of the she-wolf were missing. Moreover, the left leg was broken below the knee. Restored are also the fingers of the

Figure 51

[801] Paris, Louvre, Cour du Sphinx, inv. 593, H. 1.63 m; L. 3.17 m; W. 1.31 m; Fröhner 1869, 411-415, no. 449; Klementa 1993, 55-57, no. B 3; Lembke 1994, 216-217, no. E 2. Grossino, one of the family members accompanying the young F. Gonzaga, who was sent as a hostage to the papal court in Rome in 1510, mentions the site of discovery in a letter to Gonzaga's mother, Isabella d'Este (1512): '*[…] apresso la Minerva, giessia di frati di Sto. Dominichino conventuali, in una casa che se fabrica, cavando per far certi fondamenti […]*', i.e., '… near the Dominican church of the Minerva, while digging the foundations of a house …' (my translation). For the discovery and early modern history of the statue, see Brummer 1970, 191-204; for the mythological reliefs on the base, see Le Gall 1953, 3-22; Swetnam-Burland 2009, 445, 453-454.

[802] A detailed description of the scenes on the base is provided by Le Gall 1953, 6-22; see also Lembke 1994, 26-28 (interpretation), 216-217 (description); Klementa 1993, 55-57; Swetnam-Burland 2009, 445, 453-454.

right and left hand, the left feet and the toes of the right as well as details of the crown, the cornucopia, and the relief scenes on the base.[803]

The formal composition of the statues of the Tiber and the Nile, i.e., their identical pose, size, as well as the soft modelling of the bodies, clearly suggests that they formed a pair and that they were displayed as mirroring images in the exedra of the Iseum.[804] However, as in the case of the Nile, scholarly opinion is divided on the subject of the Tiber's date. As a statuary type, it is generally assumed that the reclining Tiber was based on that of the Nile.[805] Yet, while most scholars favour a shared date of origin for both statues in the late first or second century AD,[806] others have, based on certain stylistic differences in the rendering of the hair and beards, suggested that the Tiber was made at a later date than the Nile.[807]

The attributes of the Tiber, i.e., the cornucopia and the oar, symbolise the abundance and nourishment brought by the river. As noted above, the similar scale and overall form of the Tiber and Nile strongly suggest that they were commissioned to be displayed as a pair and their display in the watery environment of the exedra is likely to have evoked a number of associations. As we have seen, the overall message of fertility and abundance may have reminded the viewer of the trade between Egypt and Rome and/or of the mythical foundations of contemporary Roman hegemony. Likewise, the religious setting of the statues may have evoked religious responses.

The statue of the Oceanus Fabii

This colossal statue of the Oceanus in white, probably Greek, marble was discovered sometime during the 16th century in a basement near '*la Minerva*', which, in this case, probably refers to the ancient temple of Minerva Chalcidica, i.e., the area of the Arco di Camilliano.[808] (Fig. 52) U. Aldrovandi (1522-1605) mentions the place of discovery in his work, *Le statue antiche di Roma*, published at Venice in 1556. When Aldrovandi saw the statue, it was in the collection of Giovanni Battista de'Fabii

[803] For Grossino's description of the statue and 16th century drawings of the partly restored Tiber, see Brummer 1970, 192-194, 200, figs. 177, 179 and 187; moreover Fröhner 1869, 414; Le Gall 1953, 5, n. 1.
[804] For the role of the pendant in Roman art, see generally Bartman 1991, 80-82.
[805] For the origins of the iconographic type of the reclining river-god, see notes 789-790 above.
[806] Le Gall 1953, 3-22 (Hadrianic period); Klementa 1993, 55-57 (late Hadrianic-early Antonine period); Lembke 1994, 216-217 (Domitianic period); Swetnam-Burland 2009, 441-443 (Trajanic or Hadrianic period).
[807] Eingartner 1999, 28, arguing for a Julio-Claudian date of the Nile and for a date of the Tiber around 100 AD; Toynbee 1934, 32-33, 114 , arguing for a date of the Nile in the 1st century AD (Augustan or Flavian) and for a date of the Tiber in the Antonine period.
[808] Naples, MAN, inv. 5977, H. 1.94 m; L. 2.40 m; Ruesch 1908, 14-15, no. 40; Gasparri 2009, 43-45, no. 15; Klementa 1993, 75-78, no. C 4; Lembke 1994, 217-218, no. E 3.

in the Piazza degli Altieri (Campus Martius).[809] Scholars generally agree that the Farnese family acquired the Oceanus and other statues from the Fabii collection for their new Palazzo in 1549.[810]

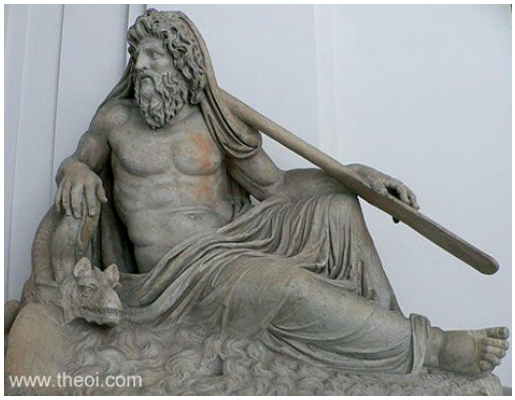

Figure 52

However, as we will see, this view can no longer be maintained. As noted by Lanciani, the building accounts of the Palazzo Farnese mention that a certain Bernardino de'Fabii received 50 scudi as payment for '*[…] alcune statue ch'egli ha vendute alla fabbrica del Palazzo nuovo*' in November 1549. According to Aldrovandi, the house and collection of Bernardino de'Fabii was located in the area of S. Lucia alle Botteghe Oscure.[811] Among other sculptures, the collection consisted of an Atlas, an Asclepius, a torso of Bacchus, and a large statue of Caracalla, dressed as a priest, all in the Museo Archeologico in Naples.[812] The statue of the Oceanus, on the other hand, was, as noted by Aldrovandi, in the house of Giovanni Battista de'Fabii and it seems likely that it remained there at least until 1585.

That the 'Oceanus Fabii' only entered the Farnese collection at a later date is suggested by the following documents: (1) an engraving of the statue by Beatrizet, dated 1560, with the legend '[…] NUNC IN AEDIBUS IO BAPTISTAE ET IO VINCENTII FABIORUM ROMAE AD SARRAE AREAM […]';[813] (2) a letter from Bartolomeo Ammannato (1511-1592) to Cosimo I de'Medici (1519-1574), dated 1561, from which it appears that Cosimo wished to acquire the Oceanus from Vincenzo de'Fabii, but also, and most importantly, that it was not for sale;[814] and,

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[809] 'In casa del Capitan Giovan Battista di'Fabij, nella piazza de gli Altieri. In una camera terrena si vede una grande e bella statua di un fiume assisa e poggiata sopra un serpente: È stata ne'giorni à dietro ritrovata in una catina presso la Minerva; e dicono, che gliene siano stati offerti prarecchie migliaia di scudi, e vogliono, che sia il simulacro del mare Oceano; che è quello, che tutta la terra nostra circonda e gira.' Quotation from Aldrovandi 1556, 228-229. P. Ligorio (ca. 1513-1583) also saw the statue in the 'casa di M. Gianvincentio di Fabji', ca. 1550-1560, see Rausa 2007, 16, 72, n. 16. The house of Giovanni Battista (and Giovanni Vincenzo) de'Fabii was located in the Piazza di Sciarra just off the Via del Corso (at the point where the Aqua Virgo crossed the Corso/the Via Lata). For the discovery and early modern history of the statue, see Lanciani 1883a, 41; 1897, 501; 1902-1912, *vol. IV*, 29; Riebesell 1988, 381-385; Gasparri 2009, 43-44.

[810] Lanciani 1902-1912, *vol. II*, 155, 159-160; Cantilena et al. 1989, 54, 155, no. 4; Riebesell 1988, 383; Gasparri 2009, 43.

[811] Aldrovandi 1556, 230. The church of S. Lucia, located in the Via dell'Arco dei Ginnasi (Largo Argentina), was demolished between 1938 and 1941.

[812] Gasparri 2009, 45, n. 1. MAN, Naples: Atlas, inv. 6374; Asclepius, inv. 6360; torso of Bacchus, inv. 6034; Caracalla, inv. 6033 (?).

[813] *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, engraving by N. Beatrizet (1560), published by Claudio Duchetti [1581-1586]; see Hülsen 1921, 155, no. 62.

[814] The letter is published in Gaye 1840, 52-53, no. LVI.

finally, (3) by an anonymous engraving published by G.B. Cavalieri (ca. 1525-1601) in 1585, with the legend 'Oceani effigies Romae in edibus nobilis Romani in regione plateae de Sciarra'.[815]

Thus, it seems likely that the 'Oceanus Fabii' entered the Farnese collection some time between 1585 and 1593. In 1593, Giovanni Battista de Bianchi restored the Oceanus – and a pendant statue – in preparation for their future display on the landing of the grand staircase in the inner courtyard of the Palazzo. Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600) mentions the restoration of the Oceani in a letter to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573-1626) and although he refers to the 'Oceanus Fabii' as the 'fiume di casa', it does not imply that it had been in the Palazzo Farnese for a long time.[816] Between 1786 and 1789, the 'Oceanus Fabii' and the rest of the Farnese collection was moved to the 'Nuovo Museo dei Vecchi Studi' at Naples. Upon its arrival in Naples, a new restoration was carried out. The Oceanus is currently on display in the Museum's Atrium, to the right of the main staircase.

The personified Oceanus takes the form of a half-reclining bearded male. He lies on a bed of undulating waves and leans upon his right arm, which is supported by a twisted Cetus, or sea monster. In the left hand, he holds the shaft of an oar. A mantle covers the lower part of the body, rises up over the back and is drawn over the head. The head is turned to the right and the thick and long beard and the wavy locks of the hair define the face. The remains of two horn-like 'crab claws' emerge from his head. The eyes, with carved pupils and irises, are set beneath heavy, straight brows. The modelling of the skin and muscles is soft and rounded. The back is only cursorily finished, suggesting that the statue was intended for a niche. The reconstructed parts include the tip of the nose, the lower lip, and a curl on the forehead, the greater part of both arms as well as the hands, both feet, the upper half of the oar, part of the drapery and part of head and neck of the sea monster. A series of drilled holes on the front and back of the base attest to its use as a fountain.

Exactly where and how the Oceanus was displayed in the Iseum remains uncertain. The find spot, near the Arco di Camilliano, associates it with the southern part of the sanctuary, i.e., the area of the courtyard and the exedra. In Alfano's view, the statue was displayed within the water basin of the exedra as part of a fountain together with the statues of the Nile and Tiber, a view followed by Lembke.[817] Yet, as mentioned above, the roughly finished back of the statue makes it unlikely that it was meant to be viewed in the round. Thus, a display in one of the niches adjoining the portico of the

[815] Cavalieri 1585, plate no. 93.
[816] Riebesell 1988, 381-385, n. 24. The letter is dated September 22, 1593.
[817] Alfano 1992a, 16; Lembke 1994, 26-28.

exedra or in one of the rectangular spaces (niches?) in the south-eastern corner of the courtyard (where water was also abundant) cannot be excluded.[818]

As in the case of the statues of the Nile and Tiber, scholarly opinion is divided on the subject of the statue's date. While some scholars favour a date in the late first or early second century AD,[819] others argue for a date in the Antonine or early Severan period, making the Oceanus contemporary with or later than the Nile and the Tiber.[820] Lembke convincingly associates it with the Severan restoration of the Iseum.[821] As a river-god, the Oceanus represented the world river, encircling the earth. His attribute, i.e., the oar, symbolise navigation and, as mentioned above, the statue was probably created as part of a pair, forming a pendant display, which further emphasised the metaphor of fertility and imperial (world) rule.

The statue of the Oceanus Cesarini

When and where this colossal statue of the Oceanus in white, probably Greek, marble was discovered is uncertain.[822] (Fig. 53) It is mentioned by U. Aldrovandi in his *Le statue antiche di Roma* of 1556 as being in the collection of S. Giuliano Cesarini (1514–1566) in the strada di Cesarini.[823] However, it seems likely that Giuliano's son, Giovanni Giorgio Cesarini (1549–1585), moved the (restored?) Oceanus to the family Villa near S. Pietro in Vincoli (Esquiline Hill) where the statue was put on display in a niche in the lower part of the garden. In any case, it was from there that Cardinal Odoardo Farnese acquired the statue for the Palazzo Farnese in July 1593. Cardinal Farnese bought the Oceanus together with other statues from the Cesarini collection for the sum of 5000 scudi.[824] Upon its arrival

[818] See the section on the 'FUR' above.
[819] Cantilena et al. 1989, 155, no. 4 (Flavian); (Klementa 1993, 76 (late Hadrianic, i.e., contemporary with the statues of the Nile and Tiber).
[820] Lembke 1994, 217-218 (ca. AD 200); Gasparri 2009, 44-45 (second half of the 2nd century AD). The date in the second century AD is particularly suggested by the features of the face.
[821] Lembke 1994, 71, 218; see also Ensoli 1998, 425.
[822] Naples, MAN, inv. 5976, H. 1.94 m; L. 2.52 m; Ruesch 1908, 14, no. 39; Gasparri 2009, 42-43, no. 14; Klementa 1993, 75-78, no. C 5; Lembke 1994, 218-219, no. E 4.
[823] 'In casa del S. Giuliano Cesarini: ne la strada di Cesarini. [...] Vi è ancho un similacro di fiume rotto, con molti altri fragmenti, e torsi antichi.' Quotation from Aldrovandi 1556, 221. The Palazzo Cesarini, located in the Largo Argentina, was demolished in the years 1926-1929. For the early modern history of the statue, see Riebesell 1988, 381-385; Gasparri 2009, 43.
[824] Fulvio Orsini mentions that the statue previously had been in the garden of the Villa Cesarini in a letter to Cardinal Farnese, dated September 1593, see Riebesell 1988, 374, 381-385; for the collection of the Villa Cesarini on the Esquiline, see Rosini 2010, 2-20. The vendor was Giuliano Cesarini (1572-1613), Duke of Civitanova Marche, the grandson of Giuliano Cesarini (Marquis of Civitanova) d.1566. An anonymous engraving reproduced in the work *Statuarum Antiquarum urbis Romae*, published in Rome by L. Vaccari in 1584 (= pl. 51 in the edition by G. van Schayck (De Scaichis) from 1621) depicts a half-reclining statue of an Oceanus resting upon his left side, supported by a sea-monster, and holding an oar in his right hand. The legend reads, 'Oceani effigies Roma in viridario Cesarinorum', i.e., 'in the Cesarini Garden', yet, except for the reversed pose, the statue is very similar to the 'Oceanus Fabii'.

in the Palazzo Farnese, Giovanni Battista restored the Oceanus – and the Oceanus Fabii – in preparation for their future display on the landing of the grand staircase of the inner courtyard of the Palazzo. It was moved to the 'Nuovo Museo dei Vecchi Studi' at Naples with the rest of the Farnese collection during the years 1786-1789. Upon its arrival at Naples, a new restoration was carried out. The Oceanus - also known as the Mediterranean - is currently on display in the Atrium of the Museo Archeologico, to the left of the main staircase.

The personified Oceanus takes the form of a half-reclining bearded male. He lies on a bed of undulating waves and leans upon his left arm, which is supported by a scaled, indefinable animal, probably originally a sea monster. A reclining putto leans against the scaled animal. In the left hand, the Oceanus holds a cornucopia. A mantle covers the lower part of the body, rises up over the back and is drawn over the head. The head is sharply turned to the left and curly hair locks and a long beard define the face. Two horn-like 'crab claws' emerge from the head. The back of the statue, as in the case of the 'Oceanus Fabii', is only roughly finished. The statue has been extensively restored and reworked. The reconstructed parts include the feet, the left forearm and hand, the greater part of the cornucopia including the right hand, the head (especially the features of the face), the base, the scaled animal reworked into a wolf (?), and the putto next to the animal.

Figure 53

Despite the extensive reworking of the 'Oceanus Cesarini', the formal composition of the 'Oceani Fabii and Cesarini', i.e., their identical pose, size as well as the modelling of the bodies, suggests that they originally formed a pair. It is thus very likely, although not provable, that the 'Oceanus Cesarini' was discovered in the area of the Iseum Campense too. In Lembke's view, the statue – together with its pendant – was displayed within the water basin of the exedra as part of a fountain.[825] Yet, as mentioned above, the roughly finished back of the statue makes it unlikely that it was meant to be viewed in the round. More likely, the two 'Oceani' were displayed in one of the niches adjoining the portico of the exedra.[826]

Probably, the editor got the 'Cesarini' and 'Fabii' statues mixed up and added an incorrect legend to the engraving of the 'Oceanus Fabii'.

[825] Lembke 1994, 26-28; see also Klementa 1993, 77.

[826] See the sections on the 'Oceanus Fabii' and the 'FUR' above.

As in the case of the 'Oceanus Fabii', however, scholarly opinion is divided on the question of the date of the 'Oceanus Cesarini'. Most scholars favour a shared date of origin for both statues in the second half of the second or early third century AD, making the 'Oceani' later than the statues of the Nile and Tiber.[827] Based on certain stylistic differences in the rendering of the hair and face as well as in the modelling of the body, other scholars have suggested a slightly later date for the 'Oceanus Cesarini' than for that of the 'Oceanus Fabii'.[828] However, the extensive reworking of the 'Oceanus Cesarini' makes such stylistic distinctions difficult. As noted above, the Oceanus represents the 'world river', in this case, however, the attribute, i.e., the cornucopia, instead of 'navigation' symbolises the fertility and abundance brought by the sea – and by imperial (world) rule.

The foot of a colossal statue


Figure 54

This colossal foot in white marble originally stood in - and gave its name to - the Via del Piè di Marmo.[829] (Fig. 54) In 1878, upon the death of Victor Emmanuel II, the foot was moved to its current location on the corner of the Via S. Stefano del Cacco to make way for the royal funeral procession, headed for the Pantheon. When and where the foot was discovered is unknown, but its colossal size and long historical association with the area of the Iseum Campense makes it likely that it originally formed part of the sculptural decoration of the sanctuary. Lembke tentatively associates the foot with the cult statue (and temple) of Serapis located in the northern part of the Iseum.[830]

The statue represents a left foot wearing a sandal (*crepida*) covering the foot up to the ankle. The sandal consists of a sole laced over the instep by thongs. A wide arrowhead-shaped leather strap (*lingula*), originally carved with relief decoration, runs lengthwise over the front of the foot. The foot is broken into two pieces, which, until recently, were held together by modern cement. The foot was restored in 2011 and on that occasion, the cement was replaced by a piece of white marble.[831]

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[827] Lembke 1994, 218-219 (ca. AD 200); Gasparri 2009, 42-45 (second half of the 2nd century AD), see also Ensoli 1998, 425.
[828] Cantilena et al. 1989, 154-155, nos. 3-4, tentatively argues for a Flavian date of the 'Oceanus Fabii' and for a date of the 'Oceanus Cesarini' in the second century AD; Klementa 1993, 76-77, argues for a date of the 'Oceanus Fabii' in the late Hadrianic period and for a date of the 'Oceanus Cesarini' in the early to mid-Antonine period.
[829] Rome, Via S. Stefano del Cacco, L. (of foot) 1.22 m; H. (of foot) 0.50 m; L. (of base) 1.40 m; H. (of base) 0.70 m; Matz and von Duhn I, 459-460, no. 1605; Hülsen 1903, 38; Lembke 1994, 219-220, no. E 6.
[830] Lembke 1994, 23, 183.
[831] http://www.beniculturali.it/mibac/export/MiBAC/sito-MiBAC/Contenuti/MibacUnif/Comunicati/visualizza_asset.html_1067907605.html

Generally, the surface of the statue is much worn and it cannot be dated on the basis of the surviving remains.

The form of the sandal suggests a male cult statue, perhaps a colossal acrolith of Serapis (?).[832] According to Lembke, the statue may have been a replica of the cult statue of Serapis made by Bryaxis for the Serapeum in Alexandria in the late fourth or early third century BC.[833] Bryaxis' Serapis shows the god enthroned, wearing a kalathos on the head, holding a sceptre in the left hand, and placing the right hand on a figure of Cerberus. An image reflected in the iconography of the Domitianic denarii of AD 94-96 described above.

The colossal bust of an Isis-statue

When and where this upper half of a colossal statue of Isis in white, probably Italian, marble was discovered is unknown.[834] (Fig. 55) Because of its location in front of the Basilica of S. Marco, it is generally associated with Cardinal Pietro Barbo, the later Pope Paul II (1464-1471). Paul II, while still a cardinal, began the building of the Palazzo di S. Marco [now Venezia], and as pope ordered a major reconstruction of the Basilica of S. Marco, bringing it within the precincts of the Palazzo.[835] Still, it seems more likely that it was another Cardinal of S. Marco, i.e., Lorenzo Cibo (ca. 1450-1503), who placed the statue in front of the Basilica around 1500. This is suggested by a drawing of ca. 1532-1536 by M. van Heemskerck depicting the bust of Isis on a marble base carrying the coat of arms of the Cibo family.[836] The statue is also known as 'Madama Lucrezia', a name probably derived from its location near the Roman residence of the noblewoman Lucrezia d'Alagno.


Figure 55

The statue wears a short-sleeved tunic covered by a fringed mantle knotted at the chest. The right arm, bent at the elbow, is extended forward and a piece of marble (a support or part of the garment?) connects the elbow with the lap. The left arm, of which only the upper part is preserved,

[832] The reconstructed height of the statue is ca. 8 m; Lembke 1994, 221, estimates the height of the head to ca. 1 m.
[833] Clem. Al. *Protr.* 4.48.1-3; Lembke 1994, 183, 220.
[834] Rome, Piazza S. Marco, H. (of bust) 2.28 m; H. (of head) 0.55 m; W. (of chest) 0.65 m; Matz and von Duhn I, 452, no. 1582; Eingartner 1991, 17-18, 115, no. 15, Taf. 14; 1999, 23-24; Lembke 1994, 220-221, no. E 9; Ensoli 1998, 421-423; 2000, 276.
[835] Gregorovius 1900, 675- 678, esp. 678, n. 1; Lafaye 1884, 275, no. 36 (depuis le 15è siècle); Eingartner 1991, 115, no. 15 (seit 1465 in Rom); Lembke 1994, 220 (seit etwa 1465 vor S. Marco).
[836] Vigliarolo 2008, 5; Jordan and Hülsen 1907, 571, n. 34 (seit dem 16. Jhdt. vor der Kirche S. Marco); Claridge 1998, 232; moreover Aldrovandi 1556, 260-261, who describes it as being in front of S. Marco. For the drawing of van Heemskerck, see Ensoli 1998, 422, fig. 17.

was probably extended along the side of the body. The thick wavy hair, parted in the middle, is gathered into a knot in the back and curly locks fall behind the ears to either side of the neck. The two holes drilled in the hair indicate that some form of diadem or headdress was attached to the head. The back of the statue is only roughly finished and has a large rectangular cutting probably for a dowel. According to the typology of the garments established by Eingartner, the statue belongs to the so-called 'Typus Knotenpalla' supposedly based on an Athenian prototype of the late Hellenistic period.[837]

Although recently restored (2009),[838] the bust, as a whole, is in a poor state of preservation: both arms are missing from the elbow down and the face is completely destroyed. The colossal size as well as the characteristic knotted costume identifies the statue as Isis. It is generally assumed that the bust originally belonged to a seated statue and that it – based on its present location – formed part of the sculptural decoration of the Iseum Campense.[839] In Lembke's view, the seated statue may originally have been displayed in the central niche of the exedra.[840] Ensoli, on the other hand, suggests that the statue originally represented Isis-Sothis, i.e., Isis riding side-saddle on a dog. According to this hypothesis, the statue either decorated the apex of the temple pediment as acroterion or – as suggested by the Flavian coins and the testimony of Cassius Dio – the pediment itself.[841] Most scholars favour a date in the second or early third century AD, and thus imply that the statue formed part of the Hadrianic or Severan restoration of the Iseum.[842]

The altar dedicated to Isis

This altar in white, probably Greek, marble was discovered in 1719 in laying the foundations for an extension of the Biblioteca Casanatense (Via di Sant' Ignazio), a library founded by the Dominican Friars of the Minerva in 1701.[843] (Fig. 56) The inscription on the front of the altar records that it was

[837] Eingartner 1991, 10-32.
[838] http://www.statueparlantiroma.it/restauroMadama.html ; see also Ensoli 1998, 423, n. 40.
[839] Lembke 1994, 21, 221; Ensoli 1998, 423; contra Eingartner 1999, 23-24, who assumes that the bust belonged to a standing image of the goddess. If the bust belonged to the/a cult image of the Iseum, it would be inconsistent with the standing cult image represented on the coins of Vespasian and Domitian, see the section on 'The literary and numismatic evidence' above.
[840] Lembke 1994, 18, 28, 221. The suggestion is indirectly supported by the presence of a seated female statue in one of the *aediculae* of the portico in the upper part of the relief from Ariccia mentioned above; see generally Manera and Mazza 2001, 109, no. 77.
[841] Ensoli 1998, 421-423; 2000, 276-277; moreover the section on 'The literary and numismatic evidence' above.
[842] Eingartner 1991, 115, no. 15 (AD 130-150); Lembke 1994, 220-221 (late Hadrianic - early Antonine period / AD 130-150); Coarelli 1996, 109 (Domitianic period); Ensoli 1998, 423; 2000, 276 (ca. AD 200 / Severan); Claridge 1998, 232 (early third century AD).
[843] Rome, MC, Sala dei Culti Orientali, inv. 1526, H. 0.87 m; W. 0.51 m; D. 0.51 m; Olivae 1719, 1-6, P. b; Lanciani 1883a, 46-47; Lanciani (1883) in Cubberley 1988, 135; Jones 1912, 359, no. 12, pl. 91; Helbig[4] II, 36, no. 1189 (Italian

dedicated to [IS]IDI SACR(um). Below the inscription is carved a *cista mystica*, a sacred casket, standing on a rock. A crescent moon and ears of corn adorn the body of the casket and on the cover a snake lies coiled. The right-hand side of the altar shows Anubis with a jackal's head, dressed in a short tunic and a *paenula* (cloak); small wings (*talaria*) are fastened to his ankles. He holds a caduceus in his right hand and in his left, a palm-branch and a *situla*. The attributes identify the god as Mercury/Hermes ψυχοπομπός ('conductor of souls') with whom the Romans associated Anubis. The left-hand side of the altar shows a chubby Harpocrates. He is naked except for the mantle draped over his left shoulder and arm and holds a cornucopia (crowned by a *uraeus*) in his left hand while the fingers of the right are placed on his mouth. The lotus bud on his head is a modern restoration. Three instruments of sacrifice, the *urceus* (pitcher), *patera* (libation bowl), and *culter* (knife), are represented on the back of the altar. Apart from the lotus flower on the head of Harpocrates, the reconstructed parts include the upper side of the left side of the altar, the snout, left ear, and right hand of Anubis, and the nose of Harpocrates. Based on the stylistic rendering of the figures, especially the figure of Harpocrates with cornucopia, as well as on the palaeography of the inscription, the altar is dated to the middle of the second century AD.[844] Significant in this connection is the fact that the altar belonged to the sculptural decoration of the 'Egyptian' northern part of the sanctuary.

Figure 56

The base of a candelabrum with sileni

This triangular base of a candelabrum in white, probably Pentelic, marble was found during Lanciani's excavations in the Via del Beato Angelico in 1883. (Fig. 57) After its discovery, it was taken to the Musei Capitolini.[845] The upper part of the candelabrum, which originally consisted of a tall, round shaft carved with foliage or vegetal designs and a marble basin to hold a fire, is lost. The base is supported by three winged and bearded *sileni* holding their potbellies with both hands. Between the *sileni* on each side is a kantharos in relief decorated with grapes, the head of a bearded Silenus peeks out from behind the lip of the kantharos and the remains of an acanthus flank the vase.

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marble); Lembke 1994, 245, no. E 49; *Iside* 1997, 386-387 (V.2); *Divus Vespasianus* 2009, 515, no. 120. For the inscription, see *CIL* VI[1], 344 and VI[4], fasc. II, 30744 = *RICIS* 501/0121; Lembke 1994, 141, no. B 5.

[844] Jones 1912, 359 (letters of the second century AD); Lembke 1994, 245 (late Hadrianic-early Antonine period); *Iside* 1997, 386-387 (AD 150); *Divus Vespasianus* 2009, 515 (Hadrianic).

[845] Rome, MC, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Cortile, inv. 759, H. 1.18 m; L. (each side at the bottom) 1.04 m; L. (each side at the top) 0.76 m; Lanciani 1883, 209; 1883a, 35, 58; Lanciani (1883) in Cubberley 1988, 136; Jones 1926, 7, no. 4, pl. 3; Cain 1985, 175-176, no. 76; Lembke 1994, 249-250, no. E 58.

The three panels are undecorated, but a series of holes drilled in the marble may indicate that the panels originally were decorated with metal plaques.[846] The upper part of the base is only partly preserved. On two sides are remains of a palmette flanked by acanthus scrolls decorated with rosettes, lotus flowers and pendant buds.

According to the typology of Roman marble candelabra established by Cain, the candelabrum of the Iseum belongs to 'Typus II' represented by only one additional example in the Albertinum in Dresden of the second century AD.[847] In Cain's view (followed by Lembke), however, the candelabrum of the Iseum is early Augustan (30-20 BC), a date mainly based on the stylistic rendering of the (pointed) acanthus leaves, which, according to Cain, are comparable to the ornamentation of the Arch(es) of Augustus in the Roman Forum.[848] Still, the poor state of preservation of the acanthus scrolls makes such stylistic judgements difficult to sustain and a date in the second century AD, as originally suggested by Jones, seems more likely.[849]


Figure 57

Finally, based on the 'Graeco-Roman' (Dionysian) iconography of the base, Lembke suggests that the candelabrum originally may have stood elsewhere in Rome, i.e., that the Iseum constitutes a secondary context. However, as argued throughout this thesis, there is no reason to assume that the candelabrum only because of its Graeco-Roman style and iconography did not belong to the sculptural display of the – in this case – northern part of the Iseum. Nonetheless, some scholars describe the winged *sileni* as '*Bes*-Sileni' while others emphasise the 'Egyptian' origin of the lotus flowers on the upper mouldings of the base in an attempt to explain the association between this 'Graeco-Roman' monument and the 'Egyptian' Iseum.[850] In any case, the Romans generally associated Osiris/Serapis with Dionysus/Bacchus and Dionysian motifs were not 'foreign' to 'Egyptian' contexts in Italy.[851]

[846] Hauser 1889, 120.
[847] Albertinum, Dresden, inv. 27 (formerly in the Palazzo Chigi), see Hettner 1881, 76-79, no. 80; Cain 1985, 154, no. 19, 38-45 (Typus II). According to Cain, the two replicas – despite formal differences – are based on a common late Hellenistic prototype of the 1st century BC.
[848] Cain 1985, 175-176, no. 76; Lembke 1994, 250.
[849] Jones 1926, 7, no. 4.
[850] Cain 1985, 175-176, no. 76 (Bes-Silen); Lembke 1994, 26, 250 (Lotusblüten).
[851] Herodotus identified Osiris/Serapis with Dionysus/Bacchus already in the fifth century BC; Hdt. 2.42, 2.123, 2.144; see Kolta 1968, 58-69. See also Diod. 1.13.5; Plut. *Mor. De Is. et Os.* 356B, 362B and 364D-F. A similar identification took place in the Serapeum of Saqqara (Memphis) during the Ptolemaic period; Thompson 1988, 212-213. Two inscriptions from Rome associate Liber Pater with Sol-Serapis-Jupiter and a priest of Isis and […]; *RICIS* 501/0143 and *RICIS* 501/0213; see also Malaise 1972a, 196-197. Moreover, the marble statuette of Bacchus dedicated by Numerio

The fragment of a polygonal monument with Apollo Citharoedus

The fragment in white, probably Parian, marble stems from the base of a triangular altar or that of a candelabrum.[852] (Fig. 58) It was discovered in 1883 shortly after the 'Dogali obelisk' during Lanciani's excavations in the Via del Beato Angelico in the closely packed, mixed fill layer accumulated to a height of ca. two metres above the pavement of the Iseum.[853]

Three sides of the monument remains: that in the middle is narrow and without decoration, the one to the right has a representation of Apollo Citharoedus in high relief, the one to the left also had a figure in high relief, but it is much damaged and cannot be identified. Only the upper part of the figure of Apollo is preserved. In his left hand, he holds the kithara, secured by a strap across the chest, and the long wavy hair is gathered on the crown of his head where it is tied in a loose knot. It is not mentioned in Cain's typology of the Roman marble candelabra but the rendering of Apollo's hair as well as its place of discovery in the accumulated fill layer suggest a date in the second century AD.[854]

Figure 58

Finally, it is important to remember that this 'Graeco-Roman' monument with its Apolline iconography formed part of the sculptural decoration of the 'Egyptian' northern part of the Iseum. Yet, as in the case of the 'Dionysian' candelabrum described above, the style and iconography of the monument alone do not imply that it originally stood somewhere else. Rather, its presence among the Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures of the northern part of the Iseum supports the view presented here of a visual juxtaposition and merging of different period and culture styles.

Popidio Ampliato in the Iseum at Pompeii attests to the association between the two gods; see Adamo Muscettola 1992, 70, no. 3.7; De Caro 2006, 24-27, 68 no. 87; *RICIS* 504/0203.

[852] Rome, MC, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Giardino, inv. 1304, H. 1.42 m; Lanciani 1883, 244; Lanciani (1883) in Cubberley 1988, 138-139, 144 (Carrara marble); Jones 1926, 238, no. 40, pl. 93; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 24, n. 25; Lembke 1994, 250-251, no. E 59 (Standort: unbekannt); Ensoli 1998, 424, n. 44, fig. 18.

[853] For the stratigraphy of the site, see the section on 'The architectural remains' above; moreover, Lanciani 1883a, 58 (*strato di suolo di scarico*); Alfano 1998, 190, 201-202.

[854] Ensoli 1998, 424, n. 44, also suggests a date in the second century AD.

The Vatican Pinecone

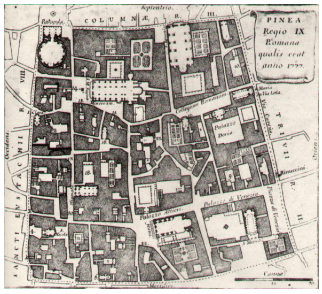

Figure 59

According to a medieval tradition, this monumental Pinecone in bronze comes from the area between the Pantheon and the church of S. Stefano *de Pinea*, better known as S. Stefano del Cacco.[855] (Fig. 59) In the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* of the 12th century, we are told that the Pinecone together with a statue of Cybele once covered (*coopertorium*) the hole in the roof of the Pantheon (*foramine Pantheon*).[856] Other medieval sources report that the Pinecone fell from the roof during a storm or because it was struck by lightning and that subsequently, it was left near the church of S. Stefano.[857] At some point, probably during the papacy of Hadrian I (772-795), the Pinecone was transferred from the Campus Martius (?) to the Paradisum (the atrium) of the medieval basilica of St. Peter. In the Paradisum, the Pinecone was located under an ornate tabernacle supported by eight columns of porphyry and functioned as a fountain (*cantharus*) with water gushing from the tips of the scales. In 1608, during the papacy of Paul V (1605-1621), it was moved to its current location in the Cortile della Pigna. (Fig. 60)


Figure 60

A restoration of the Pinecone in the 1980s confirmed that it also functioned as a fountain in Antiquity. It is cast out of bronze by the *cire perdue* technique and carries an inscription, repeated three times, on the convex surface of the ring on which it rests: P·CINCIVS·P·L· SALVIVS·FECIT. The palaeography of the inscription dates it to the early imperial period, 1st – 2nd century AD.[858] The top of the pinecone, some of the scales and the base are modern reconstructions.

Scholars generally agree that the Pinecone originally adorned a monumental fountain located somewhere in the area between the Pantheon and the Iseum. In his article on the 'Porticus Divorum and Serapeum' from 1903, Hülsen associated the Vatican Pinecone with the stepped circular structure depicted south-east of the exedra of the Iseum on fragment 35m of the FUR. (Fig. 34) Hülsen identified this structure as a fountain, but it has since been demonstrated

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[855] Musei Vaticani, Cortile della Pigna, inv. 5118, H. 4 m; (without the reconstructed top = H. 3.56 m); ø (at the base) 1.75 m; Hülsen 1903, 39-47; Amelung I, 5 (Cortile della Pigna), 896-904, no. 227, Tafel 119; Helbig[4] I, 375-377, no. 478; Lembke 1994, 251-252, no. E 60.

[856] *Mirabilia [1]* (ca. 1140) = Urlichs 1871, 105-106, c. 19.

[857] G. Cavallini de Cerronibus, *Polistoria de virtutibus et dotibus Romanorum [5]* (ca. 1345-1347) = Urlichs 1871, 145-146 (*fulmen*); *Anonymus Magliabechianus [6]* (ca. 1410-1415) = Urlichs 1871, 162 (*tempestas*). The Pinecone also gave its name to the central part of the Campus Martius, i.e., the Rione IX – Pigna.

[858] *CIL* VI[4], fasc. I, 29794; for the date, see Lembke 1994, 251, with further literature.

that it represents the round temple of Minerva Chalcidica.[859] Yet, the Vatican Pinecone has also been associated with another circular structure in the same area. This structure, which probably represents a fountain, is depicted on fragment 35t of the FUR (Fig. 35) just off the centre of the courtyard of the Iseum.[860] Finally, Lembke has suggested that the Pinecone belonged to the sculptural decoration of the exedra-nymphaeum.[861] As a symbol of fertility and resurrection, the pinecone was sacred to the cults of Isis, Cybele and Dionysus. Offerings in the form of burnt pinecones have been found in the sanctuaries of Isis at Soli (Cyprus), Pompeii and most recently in the Flavian sanctuary of Isis and Magna Mater at Mainz.[862] Moreover, as we have seen, water played an important role in the rituals of the cult of Isis. Thus, a fountain in the form of a pinecone would have been fully appropriate for a sanctuary of Isis.

Lost Graeco-Roman sculptures associated with the Iseum Campense

A statue of a River

In his '*Descriptio urbis Romae et de ruina eiusdem*' of 1448, Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459), papal bureaucrat and scholar, describes how in his day (ca. 1440) a colossal reclining statue stood near the portico of the Minerva.[863] It seems likely, as in the case of the 'Oceanus Fabii' that this reference concerns the ancient temple of Minerva Chalcidica, i.e., the area of the Via del Piè di Marmo. At the time, Poggio explains, the head of this colossal statue was found as they were digging holes for tree planting. According to Poggio, the discovery aroused great attention and to avoid inconvenience the owner of the *horti* decided to rebury the head.

The colossal size and the reclining pose of the statue described by Poggio suggest, but do not prove, that it represented a personification of water. The find spot – as well as the evidence of the other river gods found in the area – suggests an association between the statue and the Iseum. Scholars agree that Poggio's statue does not correspond to any of the known 'colossal' and 'reclining' Roman statues, i.e., the Vatican Nile, the Louvre Tiber, the Oceani in Naples, and the three river gods on the Capitoline Hill (Marforio, Nile and Tiber). Thus, the fate of the statue seen by Poggio is

[859] Hülsen 1903, 39; Carettoni et al. 1960, 97, 99; see also the section on the 'FUR' above.
[860] Carettoni et al. 1960, 99; Iversen 1968, 80; for the possible association with the Vatican Pinecone, see Alfano 1992a, 14; Lembke 1994, 21, 145, 252; Coarelli 1996, 108. The structure has an approximate diameter of 3 m.
[861] Lembke 1994, 252.
[862] Wild 1981, 184-185; Lembke 1994, 251-252; Witteyer 2004, 53.
[863] 'Prope porticum Minervae statua est recubantis, cuius caput integra effigie, tantaeque magnitudinis ut signa omnia urbis excedat […]'. Poggio in Urlichs 1871, 237-238. The 'Descriptio' was the first book of Bracciolini's *De Varietate Fortunae* (1448), dedicated to Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455), see also Lanciani 1883a, 37, 40-41; 1897, 500; Lembke 1994, 219, no. E 5.

uncertain. It may have ended up in the limekilns. In fact, Poggio describes how the monuments in the area of the Minerva were treated as quarries for stone, burnt to make lime.[864]

A piece of drapery

According to Lanciani, this fragment of drapery was found during the renovation of the house of Pietro Tranquilli in the Via del Beato Angelico in 1856/1858.[865] The piece of drapery was made of Greek marble and had a height of 0.78 m. It was found lying on the travertine pavement of the Iseum together with a number of Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures. At the time of discovery, the pavement and the sculptures, located at a depth of 6 m., were under water. The present whereabouts of the piece are unknown. Significant in this connection is the fact that the piece was found in the 'Egyptian' northern part of the sanctuary.

A hand

In his incomplete '*Memorie*' begun in 1642, Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588-1657), describes how '*una mano di marmo pario superbissima*' was found as they were digging up the basement under the Dominican Monastery of the Minerva in March 1642.[866] It appears from dal Pozzo's description that the hand was found lying on a pavement made of reused egyptianising relief slabs. At the same occasion a fragment of a statue '*di marmo lidio pur egittia*', and part of a column incised with '*strisce stravaganti*', perhaps a stylised representation of lotus leaves (?), were found. Moreover, previously, a statue of Isis and Osiris '*di marmo egittio*' had been found in the same location.[867] Significant in this connection is the fact that, as in the case of the piece of drapery described above, the hand was found in the 'Egyptian' northern part of the sanctuary.

A group of altars

In his '*Memorie*' published in 1594, the Roman sculptor Flaminio Vacca (1538-1605) describes how a few years earlier (ca. 1590), part of an ancient temple with columns in *giallo antico* was discovered as they were digging under the church of S. Stefano del Cacco.[868] The columns, marked by fire, fell

[864] Poggio in Urlichs 1871, 238; see also the section on the 'Methodological problems' above.
[865] Lanciani 1880, 5-6; 1883, 49; Lembke 1994, 220, no. E 7. Moreover, Henzen 1856, 180-183; Henzen and Ampère 1858, 46-47. In the contemporary reports of Henzen and Ampère the 'Graeco-Roman' piece of drapery is not mentioned, only the 'monumenti egizj' are described.
[866] dal Pozzo 1642 in Lumbroso 1874/1875, 53 ff.; Lanciani 1883a, 44-45; Lembke 1994, 219, no. E 8.
[867] Lanciani 1883a, 44-45; see also Lembke 1994, 192, no. D 20.
[868] Vacca 1594 in Fea 1790, 67, no. 27; Lanciani 1883a, 44; 1902-1912, *vol. IV*, 29; Lembke 1994, 190, no. D 13, 245-246, no. E 50.

apart as they were being moved. Vacca further explains that '*Vi trovarono certi piedestalli, dove gli antiche sacrificavano: vi erano scolpiti certi arieti con ornamenti al collo, che solevano usare gli antiche.*' As mentioned by Vacca, the altars were carved with '*arieti con ornamenti al collo*', literally meaning 'rams, with ornaments around the neck'. Probably, as suggested by Lembke, the altars – whether cylindrical or square – were decorated with bulls' skulls (*bucrania*) or rams' heads with garlands hanging from (or between) their heads and necks.[869] Vacca concludes his description by mentioning that the altars now are in the house of a certain Orazio Muti.

Summary: sculpture, topography and the visual appearance of the Iseum Campense

In this chapter, I have argued for a more critical and nuanced understanding of the sculptural programme of the Iseum Campense by emphasising the importance of the Graeco-Roman element in the sculptural layout of the sanctuary. The analysis shows that the traditional distinction between an 'Egyptian' and 'museum-like' northern part and a 'Graeco-Roman' southern part of the Iseum is too one-sided. Thus, just as Graeco-Roman styled sculptures were displayed in the 'Egyptian' part of the sanctuary, Egyptian-styled sculptures were displayed in the 'Graeco-Roman' part. The archaeological record, albeit insufficient, clearly reflects that architectural and sculptural elements of different periods and artistic styles, including materials from different Mediterranean regions, worked together in the Iseum forming a coherent visual whole.

This said it is also true that the current - largely reconstructed - archaeological situation has created the basis for the image of an 'Egyptian' north and a 'Graeco-Roman' south. It is important to stress, however, that the archaeological evidence is incomplete and reflects the lack – until recently – of systematic excavations. Yet, in spite of this fragmentary understanding, it seems clear, as I have argued above, that the current ratio between the number of Egyptian and Graeco-Roman sculptures gives a distorted picture of the 'original' sculptural decoration of the Iseum. Different factors, such as the activities of the limekiln 'della Pigna' but also the 'scholarly isolationism' of the *aegyptiaca*, have contributed to the creation of this image.

As argued throughout this thesis, it is only by breaking the *aegyptiaca* loose of this isolationism and by exploring the dialogue between the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman elements that we can begin to understand and contextualise the often ambiguous meaning and role of the *aegyptiaca* in Flavian policy and ideology. Thus, as illustrated in Appendix C, the Iseum and its egyptianising decoration was not an isolated 'exotic' phenomenon in Flavian Rome but part of a much wider

[869] Lembke 1994, 246.

political project, which not only transformed the urban fabric of Rome but also stressed the legitimacy of Flavian rule.

How did this 'political project' or 'dialogue' manifest itself in the Iseum Campense? As we have seen, the evidence of the Severan FUR has proven essential for our understanding of the overall layout of the Iseum and its immediate surroundings. According to Lembke, this layout, including most of the sculptures, generally reflects the plan and decoration of the Flavian / Domitianic Iseum.[870] In the view of other scholars, however, the layout represented on the FUR includes later, Hadrianic and Severan, modifications of the 'original' Flavian plan and decoration of the sanctuary.[871] These later modifications would primarily have concerned the southern part of the Iseum, i.e., the exedra (FUR 35m and 35uv). (Fig. 34)

That the exedra represents a later, probably Hadrianic, change of the original layout of the Iseum is suggested by the close typological relationship between the exedra of the Iseum and the exedra (*nymphaeum*) of the so-called Canopus in Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli.[872] This relationship would have been further emphasised by the similar display of reclining statues of the Nile and the Tiber in both structures.[873] Moreover, the Hadrianic date of the 'Giano accanto alla Minerva' as well as (possibly) the western perimeter wall and the inscription dedicated to Antinous "*Synthronos*", found in the area between the Arco di Camilliano and S. Stefano del Cacco, makes it likely that the Iseum formed part of Hadrian's extensive building programme in this part of the Campus Martius.[874] All of this, of course, presupposes a second century AD date of the Vatican Nile and the Louvre Tiber, an assumption, which seems completely justified. The second or early third century AD date of the remaining sculptures of the exedra, i.e., the Oceani and the egyptianising baboon, supports a post-Flavian dating of this part of the sanctuary.[875]

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[870] Lembke 1994, 70, 73 and 216 (for the date of the Nile and the Tiber).
[871] Alfano 1992a, 13-16; Ensoli 1998, 420, 424-425; 2000, 273-274; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 176. For the chronology of the Iseum, see the section on 'The literary and numismatic evidence' above.
[872] Brick stamps date the building of the Canopus to about AD 123-128; part of the sculptural decoration may have been added later, after Hadrian's visit to Egypt in AD 130; MacDonald and Pinto 1995, 109. For the relationship between the exedra of the Iseum and other exedrae/*nymphaea* of the Hellenistic-Roman period, see Alfano 1992a, 14-15; Lembke 1994, 31-33, 62-64; Ensoli 1998, 424-425.
[873] For the Nile and Tiber of the Iseum, see the section on 'The Graeco-Roman sculptures' above; the Nile and Tiber of the Canopus are displayed in the Antiquarium of the Villa Adriana, inv. 2259 (Nile) and 2261 (Tiber), see Raeder 1983, 89, no. I, 86/87; Klementa 1993, 21-22, no. A 12, 52-53, no. B 1 A. The statue of a crocodile in cipollino found in the Canopus (inv. 2326) constitutes a further parallel between the sculptural decoration of the Iseum and the Villa Adriana; see Raeder 1983, 94, no. I, 92; Lembke 1994, 239-240, no. E 39.
[874] For Hadrian's programme of reconstruction in the Campus Martius, see the 'Summary: the architectural remains' above.
[875] Ensoli 1998, 424-425; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 176.

The implications of this suggestion for our understanding of the Flavian layout of the Iseum are considerable. Most importantly, as argued by Ensoli, it transforms the area of the exedra into an open space or square, framed, according to the evidence of the FUR (Slab IV-5), by the Iseum to the north, the triumphal 'Arco di Camilliano' to the east, and slightly further to the east-south-east by the round temple of Minerva Chalcidica and the *Divorum*.[876] (Fig. 33) The Saepta Julia including the porticus Meleagri, a triangular structure named '[de]lta' (a water reservoir?), and a large elongated building, usually identified as *horrea*, defined the square to the west and south. Finally, the monumental obelisk of Domitian and the fountain of the Pinecone centrally placed in a unifying position between the Iseum and the 'Arco di Camilliano', would have dominated the northern part of the square.[877]

From this perspective, it is clear that the Iseum and the obelisk formed part of a much larger Flavian reorganisation and rebuilding of the central part of the Campus Martius. The buildings involved in this Flavian layout, i.e., the Iseum, the triumphal arch of Vespasian (the 'Arco di Camilliano'), the temple of Minerva Chalcidica and the *Divorum*, dedicated to the deified Vespasian and Titus, were closely linked ideologically. The *Chronograph of 354* attributes the construction of these buildings to Domitian, but, as we have seen, the Iseum and the 'Arco di Camilliano' were probably originally projects of Vespasian restored by Domitian after the fire of AD 80.[878]

This view, in a sense, reduces the role of Domitian to that of 'restorer of buildings already planned by his predecessors'. At the same time, however, the restoration of the Iseum and the 'Arco di Camilliano' stresses Domitian's profound interest in using Egypt and the victory in Judaea, just as his father and brother had done, in legitimising his own rule. This 'legitimising link' is particularly evident in the text of the inscription on the obelisk, but also, as argued above, in the type of monument itself. Thus, the obelisk not only established a connection between Domitian and his immediate predecessors, but also between Domitian and the founder of the Principate, Augustus.

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[876] Ensoli 1998, 427-430, convincingly argues that the Hadrianic interventions in the southern part of the Iseum, i.e., the exedra and the Giano accanto alla Minerva, regardless of the Flavian layout of the area, isolated the Iseum from the *Divorum* and the temple of Minerva Chalcidica. Lembke 1994, 145, who, as mentioned above, includes the exedra in the Domitianic layout of the Iseum, nevertheless also suggests a connection between the *piazza* of the temple of Minerva Chalcidica and the area of the Iseum.

[877] For an overview of the topography of the area based on the FUR, see Carettoni et al. 1960, tav. 31; for the [de]lta and *horrea* (?) south of the Iseum, see Alfano 1992a, 13; Coarelli 1996, 109; 1996b, 191-195; Ensoli 2000, 276-277, suggesting a connection between the *horrea* of the Iseum and the storage and re-distribution of the seaborne *annona* in Rome placed under the patronage of Isis and Serapis.

[878] For the list of Roman buildings attributed to Domitian, see Eutr. 7.23.5; *Chron. min.* 146 M; Jer. *Ab Abr.* 2105 (p. 272-273); moreover, the section on the 'The literary and numismatic evidence' above.

Moreover, by adding two entirely new buildings, i.e., the *Divorum* and the temple of Minerva Chalcidica, Domitian adds a further dimension to the use of 'Egypt' as an integral and essential part of Flavian ideology.

Based on the evidence of two second century AD inscriptions associated with the Iseum[879] and the *Divorum*[880] respectively, it seems likely, as suggested by Palmer, that Domitian's intent in building the *Divorum* was to create a link between the healing powers of Isis and, especially, Serapis and those of his divine father. According to this view, the faithful turned to the Iseum and/or the *Divorum*, i.e., the *divi Flavii*, in the expectation of divine help or recovery.[881] As mentioned above, the protection and healing powers of Serapis – and eventually those of Vespasian – played an important role in the events at Alexandria leading to Vespasian's accession. Thus, the inscriptions, which record the acts of the Paeanists (the cult choir) of Zeus Helios Great Serapis and the *Theoi Sebastoi* (Vespasian and Titus (?)) and the new *Lex collegii* of the Association of Asclepius and Hygieia, would attest to the persistent belief in the healing powers of the *divi Flavii*.[882]

Finally, in building the temple of Minerva Chalcidica,[883] located between the rebuilt Iseum and the obelisk to the north-west and the *Divorum* to the south, Domitian created a close association between Isis, patron goddess of Vespasian and Titus during the Judaean campaign, and his own patron goddess, Minerva. Indeed, there is good evidence to suggest that it was their role as warrior and patrons goddesses that connected them.[884] Thus, as we saw in the case of Beneventum, it was Domitian's successful return from a military campaign, which led to the construction of the Iseum and the obelisks at Beneventum. Most importantly, however, Domitian's juxtaposition of Isis

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[879] *IG* XIV 1084 = *RICIS* 501/0118. The inscription, now lost, was found near S. Maria in Via Lata, i.e., the Via del Corso. It was set up in the *oikos* of the Paeanists on 6 May AD 146; Palmer 1993, 355-359, 363-364; Lembke 1994, 141-142, no. B 7.

[880] *CIL* VI^2, 10234, Musei Vaticani, Sala dell'Apoxyomenos, inv. 1172. The inscription records the meeting of the Association of Aesculapius and Hygia '*in templo Divorum in aede divi Titi*' on 11 March AD 153; see Palmer 1993, 359-362, 364-365.

[881] Palmer 1993, 355-365; Ensoli 1998, 414-417, 430-431; Luke 2010, 91-99. For the curative aspects of the cult of Isis and Serapis, see Appendix G below; moreover, Bülow Clausen 2009, 105-107. Note that Ensoli, as mentioned above, argues for a location of the temple of Serapis within the *Divorum*.

[882] Palmer 1993, 361; moreover Tac. *Hist*. 4.81-82 who notes that, in his days (ca. 100-110), '*[…] Persons actually present [at Alexandria] attest both facts [Vespasian's healing of a blind and a lame], even now when nothing is to be gained by falsehood.*'

[883] The epithet 'Chalcidica' is unusual and its meaning disputed; it seems likely, however, that is was a sort of edifice, named after the city of Chalcis in Euboea, but what sort is not clear. It is sometimes associated with 'the vestibule (front or rear) of a basilica' (Vitr. *De arch.* V. c. I.4; *CIL* X, 810) and based on the position of the temple of Minerva Chalcidica in front of the *Divorum*, the epithet is usually translated as: '[Minerva] *guardiana delle porte'*, i.e., 'she who guards the doors'; see Coarelli 1981, 263; Ensoli 1998, 427.

[884] For the association of Athena/Minerva and Isis, see Appendix G below.

and Minerva established an ideological and legitimising link between the Judaean triumph of Vespasian and Titus, and the double triumph of Domitian over the Chatti and the Dacians.[885]

I argued above for a close association of Isis and Minerva in the Flavian Iseum at Beneventum and the importance of this divine juxtaposition in this period is further emphasised by evidence from the great Iseum of Regio III on the Oppian hill,[886] and from the Iseum at Pompeii, restored by Numerius Popidius Celsinus after the earthquake of AD 62.[887]

[885] For the triumphs of Domitian, see Jones 2002, 129, (AD 83: Chatti. Domitian adopts the title *Germanicus*), 139, (AD 86: Dacians), 151 (AD 89: Chatti and Dacians).

[886] Recently de Vos suggested a close connection between the temple of Minerva *Medica* and the neighbouring Iseum of Regio III; de Vos 1994, 151-155; 1997, 99-142; moreover, Lanciani 1893-1901, sheet 30; 1897, 357-358; Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978; Coarelli 1982, 53-58; Häuber 1998, 101-102; Häuber and Schütz 2010, 82-94. de Vos' hypothesis finds support in the iconographic evidence of two egyptianising stucco reliefs, known from drawings by dal Pozzo, belonging to the Flavian decoration of the Iseum. In one of the side panels of a coffered vault a figure of Isis-Fortuna with cornucopia, *patera* and *basileion* sits in front of a standing figure of Minerva, with shield, spear and helmet; de Vos 1997, 104, figs. 157-158; see also Appendix G below.

[887] Naples, MAN, inv. 3765 = *CIL* X, 846 = *RICIS* 504/0202. In Pompeii, the association of the victorious and healing aspects of Isis and Minerva is suggested by the allure of conquest and victory in the architectural decoration of the temple and by the neighbouring location of the Iseum to the temple of Asclepius and the so-called Doric temple of Athena/Minerva in the Triangular Forum. On the Pompeian Iseum, see Adamo Muscettola 1992, 63-66; Ensoli 1998, 430, n. 67; D'Alessio 2001; moreover, Hackworth Petersen 2006, 17-56.

8. Conclusion

According to Suetonius, the Flavians found the empire '*drifting uneasily*' after a year of civil strife and unrest. They found a Rome devastated by the great fire of AD 64 and the violent events of the civil war of AD 69: consequently, they embarked on a massive programme of building and restoration, which not only changed the urban fabric of Rome but also served to legitimate their rule. In this 'physical' and 'ideological' transformation, 'Egypt' occupied an essential role.

This thesis has examined *how* and *why* the Flavian emperors used and appropriated 'Egypt' as part of their ideological quest for legitimacy and acceptance. The point of departure for understanding *how* 'Egypt' manifested itself in Flavian ideology has been a re-examination of the sculptural layouts of the Flavian *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome. By adopting a 'Graeco-Roman' approach, emphasising the role of the Graeco-Roman sculptures as well as the 'dialogue' between the 'Egyptian' and 'Graeco-Roman' aspects of the sculptural layouts, the thesis has challenged the traditional view of the *Isea* as exclusively 'Egyptian' and argued instead for an alternative understanding of the sculptural decoration and ideological importance of the two sanctuaries.

In order to understand the possible reasons *why* the Flavians used 'Egypt' as an integral and continuous part of their ideology, the thesis has adopted a dialectical 'macro' and 'micro' perspective, reflecting contemporary political issues of 'continuity' (with the Julio-Claudian dynasty) and 'change' (legitimising the new Flavian dynasty). Thus, instead of seeing the Flavian *Isea* and the *aegyptiaca* as something 'exotic' and 'apart', the thesis has argued for a 'contextual approach', in which 'Egypt' formed part of a broader political-ideological discourse of legitimacy and acceptance closely linked, in particular, to the miraculous healings of Vespasian in Alexandria (AD 69-70) and to the Flavian triumph over Judaea (AD 71).

The notions of 'acculturation', 'objects biographies' and 'materiality' as formulated, among others, by Gosden (2004), Kopytoff (1986) and Miller (2010) have informed the theoretical framework and arguments of the thesis. These theories provided the conceptual tools for assessing how in situations of acculturation the use and meaning of the appropriated objects may change and how the 'agentic' and mediatory role of things in social relations is closely linked to their tactile and aesthetic qualities. Another important notion is the way things, as argued, among others, by Assmann (2011), relate not only to our present but also to our memory and history.

Egyptian imports constitute about one-quarter (25-30%) of the sculptures and architectural remains associated with each of the two *Isea*. I have argued that by re-contextualising the imported *aegyptiaca* in the *a priori* religious settings of the Flavian *Isea* part of their 'original',

often religious, function and meaning was preserved. At the same time, however, the change of context paved the way for new 'aesthetic-decorative' interpretations and 'religious-ideological' associations. In the case of the Flavian *aegyptiaca*, it was the ambiguous and constantly changing relationship between their religious-ideological 'content' and distinctive aesthetic-decorative 'form' and 'materiality', which made them effective carriers of ideological messages. These aesthetic-ideological qualities of the *aegyptiaca* would have been further enhanced by the visual juxtaposition and 'dialogue' with the Graeco-Roman elements of the *Isea*.

The thesis has explored how, from a macro perspective of 'continuity', the characteristic materials and style of the *aegyptiaca* were a tangible and visual powerful way for the Flavians to represent themselves as the legitimate successors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, especially Augustus. This legitimising link with the past is particularly evident in Domitian's erection of obelisks in both Beneventum and Rome, including the Flavian restoration of the Augustan solar meridian in the Campus Martius. At the same time, the analysis demonstrated how from an ideological point of view, the role of 'Egypt' changed in the period from Augustus to Domitian. From being the defeated enemy, Egypt had become a benevolent ally.

From a micro perspective, the continuous Flavian quest for legitimacy was closely linked, on the one hand, to the prosperous rising of the Nile, Vespasian's vision and the miraculous healings in and around the Serapeum of Alexandria (AD 69-70), providing the new dynasty with a mythical – quasi divine – reputation. On the other hand, the suppression of the revolt in Judaea (AD 71) provided the *gens Flavia* with military *virtus* and the necessary funds (*ex manubiis*) to finance their vast building programme. I have argued that as metaphors of 'legitimacy', the Alexandrian wonders materialised, and in that sense 'proved', themselves in the sculptural layouts of the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome as well as in the monumental 'black' statue of the Nile displayed, along with the spoils of Jerusalem, in the Templum Pacis.

The overview of previous scholarship (Chapter 2) as well as the analysis of the sculptural decoration of the Beneventan Iseum (Chapter 6) showed how scholars of Egyptology have dominated the study of the Roman *aegyptiaca*, leading to an unfortunate preferential treatment of and association between the Beneventan Iseum and Egyptian-styled objects at the expense of Graeco-Roman-styled objects. The lack of systematic excavations, the unknown location of the sanctuary as well as the unconscious influence of post-Napoleonic aesthetic ideals, setting the 'Egyptian' apart, have contributed to the creation of this 'Egyptian' image. The proposed association between the Iseum and a group of seven 'Graeco-Roman' sculptures not only challenged the traditional Egyptian

view of the sanctuary, but also suggested a possible ideological (and divine) relationship between Isis, Minerva and Magna Mater in Flavian Beneventum.

The inscription on the two Beneventan obelisks records that a temple dedicated to Isis 'Lady of Beneventum' was erected during the eight year of Domitian's reign (AD 88-89). The temple and the obelisks celebrated Domitian's successful return from a military campaign. By juxtaposing Isis, Minerva and, perhaps, Magna Mater and by using 'Egypt' in the sculptural layout of the sanctuary, Domitian sought to associate his own double triumph over the Chatti and the Dacians with the triumph of Vespasian and Titus over Judaea. At the same time, the Egyptian image of the sanctuary 'functioned' as a visual and legitimising reference to Vespasian's miraculous cures in the Serapeum of Alexandria as well as to the later meeting between Domitian and Vespasian at Beneventum. In this way, the sculptural decoration of the Iseum was tied at the same time to the Flavian past and present.

The re-examination of the sculptural decoration of the Beneventan Iseum served as a model for the re-evaluation of the sculptural layout of the Iseum Campense (Chapter 7). In the case of the Iseum Campense, the analysis of the 14 'Graeco-Roman' sculptures showed that a number of factors, such as the activities of the limekiln 'della Pigna' and the lack of systematic excavations, are likely to have affected the current ratio between the 'numerous' Egyptian and the 'few' Graeco-Roman-styled sculptures associated with the Iseum. Both of these factors as well as the 'purity' of post-Napoleonic aesthetics and museum displays have contributed to the 'scholarly isolationism' of the *aegyptiaca* and the creation of the exclusively 'Egyptian' image of the northern part of the Iseum. It has been shown that the traditional distinction between a 'black' Egyptian northern part and a 'white' Graeco-Roman southern part of the sanctuary is too one-sided and that in order to understand the ambiguous meaning and use of the *aegyptiaca* in Flavian ideology, we need to explore the 'dialogue' between the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman elements of the sanctuary.

The suggested second and early third century AD date of the egyptianising and Graeco-Roman sculptures associated with the exedra of the Iseum would support the assumption that this part of the sanctuary, as represented on the Severan FUR, reflects a post-Flavian, possibly Hadrianic, modification of the original Flavian layout of the Iseum. In the Flavian period, the area of the exedra would have been occupied by an open square, challenging, as argued, among others by Ensoli (1998), our traditional understanding of the Flavian building programme in this part of the Campus Martius.

I have argued, as does Scheid (2009), that the Iseum Campense was erected and possibly decorated in egyptianising style as the result of a vow to Isis and Serapis made by Vespasian during

his Alexandrian sojourn in return for military success (in Rome as well as in Judaea) and in thanksgiving for the favours already received, i.e., Vespasian's miraculous cures. In Rome, Vespasian and Titus expressed their gratitude to the Egyptian gods by spending the night before the Judaean triumph (AD 71) in the (partly completed) Iseum Campense. The possible Vespasianic date of the neighbouring Arco di Camilliano, commemorating the conquest of Jerusalem, further emphasised the close ideological (and topographical) link between the events in Egypt and the victory in Judaea. We know from literary sources that a fire, sweeping the Capitoline Hill and the central and southern parts of the Campus Martius in AD 80, destroyed the Vespasianic Iseum and that it was rebuilt during the reign of Domitian (AD 81-96).

The analysis of the Domitianic rebuilding and reorganisation of the central Campus Martius showed how Domitian used 'Egypt' and the victory in Judaea to create a legitimising link between his own rule and that of his father and brother. In this view, 'Egypt', the Iseum Campense as well as 'Judaea' and the Arco di Camilliano were 'projects' of Vespasian and Titus, inherited and restored, but also further developed and diversified by Domitian. The 'legitimising link' is particularly evident in the dynastic inscription on the Pamphilj obelisk, which, as already mentioned, also established an ideological link between Domitian, the *gens Flavia*, and Augustus.

In the Domitianic layout of the area south of the Iseum, the monumental obelisk would have occupied a central – and unifying – position between the Egyptian sanctuary to the north and the triumphal Arco di Camilliano to the east. I have argued that in building the *Divorum*, dedicated to the deified Vespasian and Titus, Domitian intended to create an association between the healing powers of Isis and Serapis and those of *Divus Vespasianus* as displayed in the Serapeum of Alexandria. At the same time, the temple of Minerva Chalcidica established an ideological (and divine) relationship between Isis, patron goddess of Vespasian and Titus, and Domitian's own patron goddess, Minerva, and ultimately between the triumph of Vespasian and Titus over Judaea and that of Domitian over the Chatti and the Dacians. Hence, the building and restoration projects of Domitian in the central Campus Martius were ideologically tied at the same time to the Flavian past and present.

Finally, the thesis has explored the question of the 'Romanness of Roman art' and argued that in order to understand *how* and *why* the Flavians used and appropriated 'Egypt' we need to include the 'Egyptian' in a pluralistic understanding of the nature of Roman art. Indeed, the ideological use of 'Egypt' in Roman art did not come to an end with the Flavians but in different ways continued to play a significant role in the politics and self-representation of future Roman emperors.

Appendices

A. Iseum of Beneventum: Catalogue of sculptures, architectural remains and inscriptions

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
EGYPTIAN									
1	Lower part of statue of a pharaoh on a throne	MdS 1904	Dark stone with speckles (diorite).	Actual H. 0,27 m; W. 0,16 m; depth 0,32 m	Benevento. Piazza Cardinal Pacca "among the construction waste"	1957	Two hieroglyphic inscriptions next to the legs of the seated person identifies him as Mery-shepses-Ra, Ini - one of the pharaohs of the late 13th dynasty. Its original location was most likely the temple of Amon-Ra in Karnak.	Second half of the 13th dynasty, ca. 1700 BC (Late Middle Kingdom)	Müller 1969, 67, no. 268, TAV. XXII, 3; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 45.
2	Block Statue of the regal scribe Neferhotep	MdS 1920	Black stone with a few white speckles (Black syenite)	H. 0,34 m; base W. 0,24 m, L. 0,28 m; W. of the back pillar 0,105 m	Benevento. Near the Archiepiscopal Palace. The representation of the god Ptah and the wording of the text suggest that this cube-statue originally was set up in the temple of Ptah in Memphis. The god Ptah, "lord of truth", is depicted in sunk relief on the front of the statue. He is sitting on a throne, dressed in a long close-fitting garment with bald head and ceremonial beard (*postiche)*. In his hands, he holds a sceptre that adjusts to the outlined front of the enthroned figure. The throne of the god stands on the hieroglyph for "truth".	1892	This special type of statue represents a man sitting on the floor or on a couch (like in this case) with his bend legs close to the chest and his arms crossed on the knees. They are often covered with inscriptions and sometimes with images of gods.	Second half of the 22nd dynasty, during the reign of Sheshonq III, ca. 825-773 BC (Third Intermediate Period)	Müller 1969, 92-93, no. 282, TAV. XXIX, 1; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 45; Bard 2008, 43 (chronology).
3	The god Horus as falcon	MdS 1894	Amphibolite.	H. 0.705 m; W. of breast 0,275 m; W of head 0,13 m; H. of base 0,09 m	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (At the base of the northern part of the Lombard city-wall)	1903		ca. 350 BC (380-343 BC)	Müller 1969, 45-46, no. 253, TAV. XV, 1-2; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 31.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
4	The god Horus as Falcon	MdS 1895	Dark-green amphibolite.	Remaining H. 0,32 m; remaining W. of breast 0.24 m; W. of head 0,13 m	Benevento. Probably at the base of the northern part of the Lombard city-wall together with no. 1894, but Meomartini (1904, 107) does not explicitly mention it.	1903(?)	Apart from the particular smoothness of this statue, it is otherwise identical with no. 1894.	ca. 350 BC (30th dynasty 380-343 BC)	Müller 1969, 46, no. 254, TAV. XV, 3; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 45.
5	Head of statuette representing Isis	MdS 2166	Dark stone with yellowish, reddish and black speckles (diorite).	Actual H. 0,145 m; H. of face 0,08 m; W. of back pillar/pilaster 0,076 m	Unknown provenance / probably Benevento. Originally, maybe from the temple at Behbêt el-Hagar. There is evidence for a Roman/Domitianic interest in the temple at Behbêt el-Hagar).	?	This figure is perhaps the (sitting) cult image of the "Isis of Benevento", placed in the Domitian Egyptian style temple. The head is stylistically comparable to the head of Arsinoe II in the Vatican, MGE and it is probably slightly later than this.	Second half of 3rd century BC	Müller 1969, 57-58, no. 261, TAV. XX, 1; Botti and Romanelli 1951, n. 31, tav. 23; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 46; Manera and Mazza 2001, 48.
6	Posterior part of small sphinx	MdS 1905	Black/dark stone with bright veins. (diorite).	Actual H. 0,20 m; actual length o,18 m; base: W. 0,175 m, H. 0,06 m	Unknown provenance / probably Benevento. (it is not the one mentioned in *NSc* 1889, 87)	?		First half of 3rd century BC	Müller 1969, 65, no. 266, TAV. XXII, 1; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 46.
7	The god Horus as falcon	MdS 1907	Grey-black stone with white and black speckles. Black syenite.	Actual H. 0,71 m; W. of the breast 0,39 m; W. of the head 0,22 m	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903		ca. 150 BC	Müller 1969, 68-69, no. 269, TAV. XVI, 2-3; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 31.
8	Headless sphinx	MdS 1910	Red granite.	Actual H. 0,44 m; actual L. 1,15 m; W. of base 0,40 m	Benevento. Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall.	1903	The Beneventan sphinxes can be compared to more securely dated sphinxes form about 350 BC. Despite some differences in the rendering of the body and mane, the Beneventan sphinxes are stylistically close/comparable to their 4th century BC predecessors and their good sculptural execution would suggest a	Early Ptolemaic / first half of 3rd century BC	Müller 1969, 72-73, no. 272, TAV. XXIII, 2; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 56.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							date in the early Ptolemaic period, i.e., the first half of the 3rd century BC.		
9	Fragment of statuette of enthroned Isis.	Private collection	Black, fine-grained stone. Diorite.	H. 0,277 m, base L. 0,215 m; W. 0,13 m; H. 0,06 m; back pillar W. 0,048 m.	Benevento. Found during the construction of the house in Via Gaetano Rummo 6, that is, immediately south of the Cathedral.	?	Preserved is the lower half of the enthroned figure. The upper body is missing, incl. the head with the towering attribute of the goddess and the anterior part of the base with the feet, of which only the heels are preserved. The figure is dressed in a long garment, which tightly encloses the body; the lower hem of the garment is visible above the feet. The throne identifies the sitting person as a goddess.	Early Ptolemaic. First half of the 3rd century BC.	Müller 1969, 111-112, TAV. XXXV, 1.
10	Headless sphinx	MdS 1913	Red granite.	Actual L. 1,30 m; actual H. 0,525 m	Müller: Benevento. Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall.	1903	See no. 1910.	Early Ptolemaic (?)	Müller 1969, 80, no. 275, TAV. XXV, 1; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 35; Meomartini 1904, 113; Marucchi 1904, 126.
11	Headless sphinx	Rome, Museo Barracco 308	Grey-black stone with light veins. (Dark syenite)	L. 1,17 m; H. 0,43 m; base W. 0,40 m; H. 0,035 m.	Benevento. Probably found in the garden of the Abbot's Palace close to S. Sofia (information from A. Zazo).	?	Following the Museum catalogues, the "Barracco sphinxes" most likely entered his collection sometime between 1893 and 1909/1910. Most likely they had already entered Barracco's collection in 1905 when the new Museo di Scultura Antica opened. This museum was situated in the present Via degli Acciaioli.	Early Ptolemaic. According to Müller, this sphinx is very similar to no. 1910.	Müller 1969, 20, 113, no. 306, TAV. XXXV, 2; Sist 1996, 77.
12	Headless sphinx	Rome, Museo Barracco 39	Red granite.	L. 1,15 m; H. 0,55 m; base W. 0,40 m.	Benevento. Probably found in the garden of the Abbot's Palace close to S. Sofia (information from A. Zazo).	?	As above.	Early Ptolemaic.	Müller 1969, 20, 113-114, no. 39, TAV. XXXVI, 1; Sist 1996, 75.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
13	Headless sphinx	Rome, Museo Barracco 38	Red granite.	L. 1,15 m; H. 0,58 m; base W. 0,48 m; H. 0,08 m.	Benevento. Probably found in the garden of the Abbot's Palace close to S. Sofia (information from A. Zazo).	?	See above. Müller considers the workmanship to be Egyptian. This sphinx has a deeply eroded surface that has partially erased the anatomical details, which complicate the dating of the sculpture. While Müller compares it to the 'Roman' sphinx no. 1915, Sist points to its similarities with the Early Ptolemaic sphinx in the Museo Barracco (no. 39).	Müller: Roman imperial period / Domitian. Sist: Early Ptolemaic.	Müller 1969, 20, 114, no. 38, TAV. XXXVI, 2; Sist 1996, 76.
14	Posterior part of lion	Lost	Red granite	H. 0,55 m; L. (at the base) 0,85 m.	Benevento. Corso Garibaldi, in front of the Cathedral.	1888	"Si rinvenne pure la parte postica di un simulacro di leone, in bellissimo granito rosso [...]"	?	Colonna 1889, 87; Müller 1969, 27.
EGYPTIANISING									
15	Apis bull	"In situ" at the Porta S. Lorenzo	Red Aswan granite.	H. of sculpture: 1.17 m, L. of base: 1.75 m, W. of base: 0.58 m.	Benevento. Via Casale dei Maccabei (outside the town, on the far side of the Sabato). Since its discovery the statue has been standing in front of the Porta S. Lorenzo	1629	The sculpture is in a rather poor state of conservation. The snout and forehead are damaged and weathered and the right foreleg and the ears are broken off. Müller questions whether the sculpture can be identified as the Egyptian god Apis because it lacks some of the essential attributes of Apis, e.g., the sun disk between the horns and the indication of the sex. An unfinished work (?).	End of 2nd century AD or later	Meomartini 1889, 487; De Lucia 1925, 511-513; Müller 1969, 12, TAV. IV.
16	Fragment of frieze with fusarole (egg-and-dart) and ionic astragal (pearl-beading) and Apis bull in relief	MdS 1891	Marble with lightgrey speckles.	H. 0,245 m; L. 0,34 m; T. 0,335 m	Benevento. Piazza Orsini (Cathedral) Found among the rubble of the destroyed cathedral, in the medieval masonry.	1945		Domitianic (AD 81-96)	Gatti 1943-1944, 145-146, fig. 15 (Parallel from Rome); Müller 1969, 39, no. 250, TAV. XIII, 1; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 49.
17	Squatting baboon	MdS 1893	Diorite - black stone with (rare)	H. 0.82 m; W. of shoulders 0.295 m;	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (At the base of	1903		Domitianic (?)	Müller 1969, 41-42, TAV. XIV,

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
			scattered light speckles.	H. of base (front) 0.09 m (back) 0.07 m.	the northern part of the Lombard city-wall)				1-2; Il *culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 30.
18	The god Horus as falcon	MdS 1896	Black stone with yellowish speckles (diorite).	Actual H. 0,52m; W of breast 0,295m	Benevento. At the base of the northern part of the Lombard city-wall.	1903	Perhaps a Roman copy of the late Ptolemaic (?) falcon no. 1907. "…die Falkenfigur ist ein werk aus der Zeit künstlerischen Niedergangs" "aus einer Epoche …weit entfernt von nos. 253-254 (1894-1895)"	Domitianic (?)	Meomartini 1904, 112; Müller 1969, 47-48, no. 255, TAV. XVI, 1; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 52.
19	Lower part of a statue of Horus as falcon.	MdS 251a	Dark stone with yellowish speckles (diorite).	H. 0,32 m; base: 0,26 m x 0,65 m; H. 0,09 m.	Benevento. Piazzetta Torre, i.e., Via Carlo Torre, by the 'Arco del Sacramento' between the Cathedral and the Roman theatre.	1972	Preserved is a rectangular base with the claws of the falcon and the ends of the wings folded on the rump. This fragment might stem from the falcon no. 1896 or more likely from another statue similar to no. 1896.	Domitianic (?)	Basile 1972, 282-286; Leclant 1974, 224-225; Pirelli 1997, 376.
20	Squatting baboon	MdS 1897	Black diorite with a few lighter speckles.	Remaining H. 0,725 m; W. between shoulders 0,27 m	Benevento. At the base of the northern part of the Lombard city-wall.	1903	Although more ruined than no. 1893, they are identical when it comes to material, size, posture and importance.	Probably Domitianic	Müller 1969, 48, no. 256, TAV. XIV, 3; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 52.
21	Fragment of relief: profile head of Roman emperor with the Egyptian crowns (Domitian?)	Without number / lost	Marble.	Remaining H. 0,25 m; remaining W 0,155 m; T. 0,04 m	Benevento. Found in the area of the church of S. Sofia. Subsequently the relief entered the collection of the Museo del Sannio from where it disappeared during renovation works sometime between 1958-1961.	1952	Preserved is the profile of a right turned face with a strong nose, full lips and soft chin. The relief is made in Egyptian sunk relief-technique. A small part of the left shoulder is visible at the lower fracture surface. Only the lower part of the Egyptian crown is visible above the forehead. The crown body has a steep front, a double band over the forehead with a rearing Uraeus above and finally a single band bound around the crown body.	Domitianic	Müller 1969, 49-51, without no., TAV. XVII, 1; Manera and Mazza 2001, 111.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
22	Fragment of relief: with incisions of a richly ornate skirt and a right leg and knee.	MdS 1898	Marble.	Remaining H. 0,255 m; remaining W. 0,245 m; T. 0,04 m	Benevento. Found in the area of the church of S. Sofia.	1952	Part of the wall decoration of the temple (?). The epigraph on the back testify to its reuse in Medieval times. The pattern of the dress is very like the dress of Isis as depicted in the relief no. 1899.	Roman - probably Domitianic	Müller 1969, 51-52, no. 257, TAV. XVII, 2; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 51.
23	Fragment of relief depicting the bust of the goddess Isis (spreading out her protecting wings)	MdS 1899	Marble.	Remaining H. 0,445m; remaining W. 0,475; T. 0,04m	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Müller: Near the church of S. Sofia)	1952		(?) Roman imperial age / Domitian	Müller 1969, 53, no. 258, TAV. XVIII, 1; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 32.
24	Slab of marble with incised column/pillar (pilaster) capital	MdS 1900	Marble, same type as nos. 1898 and 1899.	Remaining H. 0,48 m; remaining W. 0,37 m; W. 0,04 m	Benevento. Found in the area of the church of S. Sofia.	1952	The incised decoration consists of an upper register of plant items (rosettes, petals) and a lower one with the likely representation of a calyx-capital.	Domitianic (?)	Müller 1969, 54, no. 259, TAV. XVIII, 2; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 51.
25	Statue of the emperor Domitian as Pharaoh	MdS 1903	Diorite (Müller: Black stone with (rare) scattered light speckles).	Remaining H. 1,17 m; W. shoulders 0,39 m; W. of back pillar/pilaster 0,065 m.	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903	Similar to portrait of Domitian in The National Museum of Athens, inv. 345.	Domitianic (AD 81-96) - perhaps AD 88/89.	Müller 1969, 55-56, no. 260, TAV. XIX; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 32-33.
26	Statuette of emperor as pharaoh	MdS 2165	Dark stone with grey and black speckles (diorite).	Actual H. 0,525 m; W. of shoulders 0,20 m; H. of face 0,062 m; W. of back pillar/pilaster 0,067 m	Benevento. Built into the campanile of S. Sofia (information from A. Zazo)	1936	Caracalla (?)"A stage of advanced decay of Egyptian art in the Roman-era."	Ca. AD 200	Müller 1969, 62-63, no. 264, TAV. XXI, 1; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 36.
27	Head of sphinx with the royal headgear of linen (Regal head)	MdS 1901	Fine grained black stone (amphibolite).	Actual H. 0,183 m; W. 0,185 m; H. of face 0,105 m	Benevento. Found during rebuilding/reconstruction of the campanile of S. Sofia (information from A. Zazo)	1936	Does the heads belongs to a sphinx?	Domitianic (?) Based on comparison with no. 1903.	Müller 1969, 60-61, no. 263, TAV. XX, 3; *Il culto di Iside a*

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
									Benevento 2007, 34.
28	Headless sphinx	MdS 1915	Red granite.	Actual L. 0,87 m; actual H. 0,49 m.	Benevento. The sculpture was reused as building material in the "Casa De Cillis" at the Piazza Piano di Corte.	?		Roman / Domitianic (?)	Müller 1969, 81, no. 277, TAV. XXV, 2; Meomartini 1904, 113; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 35.
29	Anterior part of sphinx with head of sovereign.	MdS 1921	Red granite. Egypt.	H. 0,43 m; L. 0,35 m; H. of base 0,05 m.	Unknown, Prof. A. Zazo assumes that it derives from Benevento/Piazza Piano di Corte.	?	There is a considerable disproportion between the size of the head and the mighty body from the massif chest.	Age of Domitian.	Müller 1969, 94, no. 283, TAV. XXIX, 2; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 50.
30	Head of pharaoh with *nemes* (headcloth). The head is larger than life size and probably derive from a sphinx.	MdS 1902	Red granite.	Actual H. 0,35 m; H. of the face 0,175 m; W. of face 0,175 m	Benevento. Piazza Piano di Corte (information from A. Zazo)	?	Does the head belongs to a sphinx? "Se la sfinge fosse proporzionata all'altezza della testa sarebbe un esemplare molto più grande delle sfingi finora ritrovate a Benevento".	Domitianic	Müller 1969, 59, no. 262, TAV. XX, 2; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 49.
31	Fragment of base: statue of a priest clad in a long dress.	MdS 1906	Black stone (gabbro?).	Actual H. 0,29 m; base: H. 0,085 m; actual length 0,225 m; actual W. 0,155 m; W. of the back pillar 0,095 m	Unknown provenance / probably Benevento.	?	This type of statuary begins to appear during the early Ptolemaic period and continues to be made well into the Roman imperial age. Their posture is Egyptian like the use of the back pillar; the late examples of the type carry Roman portrait heads, which stylistically belongs to the late Republican period. The style of the dress is typical Ptolemaic.	Domitianic.	Müller 1969, 66, no. 267, TAV. XXII, 2; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 50.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
32	Sculpture of the Apis Bull.	MdS 1918	Gabbro (diorite).	H. 0,37 m; L. 0,97 m	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903		Roman / Domitianic (?)	Müller 1969, 86-87, no. 280, TAV. XXVII; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 38.
33	Statue of Egyptian god with the sign of life (Anubis?)	MdS 1919	Black stone with light-grey and rare brown speckles/diorite.	H. 0,91 m; W. shoulders 0,38 m (0,33); W of back pillar/pilaster 0,07 m	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903		Roman / Domitianic (?)	Müller 1969, 88-91, no. 281, TAV. XXVIII; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 40.
34	Priest with Canopy in veiled hands (probably Isis-Menouthis because there is no sign of a beard at the broken edge of the jar)	MdS 1922	Dark stone with white speckles and reddish veins (diorite)	H. 1,38 m; base L. 0,53 m; W. 0,27 m; H. 0,115 m; back pillar W. (at the base) 0,14 m; (upper end) 0,07 m.	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903	The Egyptian influence on the execution is apparent in the connection between the figure and the back pillar and in the clear transition between the advanced left leg and the back pillar Most likely these mixed Hellenistic-Roman sculptures are the works of an Alexandrian workshop.	Hadrianic (?) (AD 117-138)	Müller 1969, 95-98, no. 284, TAV. XXX, 1; Dunand 1998, 189-194; 2008, 160-162; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 52-53.
35	Isis Priest clad in in a long robe with fringes along the edge	MdS 1924	Gabbro (?) (diorite)	H. 0,74 m (0,82); W. shoulders 0,26 m (0,285)	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903		Roman / 1st-2nd century AD.	Müller 1969, 102-104, no. 286, TAV. XXXII, 1; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 43.
36	Priest with Canopy in veiled hands (probably Osiris-Canopus because part of what appears to be a beard is indicated at the	MdS 1926	Dark stone with white speckles and reddish veins (diorite)		Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903	See no. 1922.	Hadrianic (?)	Müller 1969, 106, no. 288, TAV. XXX, 2; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 41.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
	broken edge of the jar.)								
37	Cista Mystica	MdS 1927	Red porphyry	H. 0,47 m; ø of the lid 0,47 m; ø of the middle of the "cista" 0,40 m	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903		Roman 1st-2nd century AD (?)	Müller 1969, 106-107, no. 289, TAV. XXXII, 2; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 44.
38	Statue of lion.	MdS 1911	Red Aswan granite.	L. 1,12 m; H. 0,49 m.	Benevento. Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall	1903	According to Müller, these sculptures are not to be associated with the cult of Isis, but instead with that of Cybele. Perhaps they formed part of a sculptural group depicting the goddess in a chariot drawn by four lions - a scene that is also known from Roman coins, reliefs and bronzes.	End of the 2nd century/beginning of the 3rd century AD.	Müller 1969, 74-77, no. 273, TAV. XXIV, 1; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 57.
39	Statue of lion.	MdS 1912	Red Aswan granite.	L. 1,13 m; H. 0,46 m.	Benevento. Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall.	1903	See no. 1911.	End of the 2nd century/beginning of the 3rd century AD.	Müller 1969, 78, no. 274, TAV. XXIV, 2; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 57.
40	Statue of lion.	"In situ" on the campanile of the Cathedral	Red granite.	The exact measurements are not known due to the difficult accessibility of the sculpture.	Benevento. The lion is built into the north-western outer wall of the campanile to the left of a big gothic window. The Cathedral of Santa Maria Assunta dates from the 9th century and it was rebuilt in 1114. The incomplete square campanile was begun in 1279 by the archbishop R. Capodiferro.		See no. 1911. The surface of the sculpture is quite damaged due to its exposure to the elements.	See no. 1911.	Müller 1969, 78, without no., figs. 9-10.
OBELISKS									

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
41	Fragmentary obelisk with hieroglyphic inscription incl. a dedication by Rutilius Lupus.	MdS 1916	Granite with mainly black and red speckles.	Remaining H. 2,20 m (2,78m incl. Base?); W. ca. 0,40 m; H. of base 0,65 m	Benevento. Archiepiscopal Palace.	?	Approximately 2/3 of the obelisk is preserved. The missing part might have been reused as building material during the reconstruction of the church of San Bartolomeo.	Domitianic	Müller 1969, 10-11, 82, no. 278, TAV. II and III; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 36-37; *Egittomania* 2006, 140; *Iside* 1997, 503.
42	Obelisk with hieroglyphic inscription incl. a dedication by Rutilius Lupus.	"In situ" Piazza Papiniano	Granite with mainly black and red speckles.	H. 3,0 m (without the tip of the apex). Otherwise measurements as no. 1916.	Unknown. From 1598 to 1869, the obelisk stood in front of the cathedral. Due to the widening of the Corso Garibaldi in 1869, the obelisk was demolished and re-erected in 1872 in its present location at the Piazza Papiniano. The upper part of the obelisk was discovered in 1892 in the garden of De Simone by the northern part of the Lombard city wall.	?	Both obelisks are supplied with identical inscriptions. The inscription tells us that the obelisks were erected in honour of the great Isis, mother goddess, lady of the stars, the heaven, the earth and the underworld and that a "splendid palace", i.e., a temple was built to the great Isis, lady of Beneventum, and her fellow deities. The obelisks were erected in the eight year of the reign of Domitian, that is, AD 88/89. The occasion was the emperor's safe return from a military campaign (in Dacia?). The hieroglyphic inscription seem to repeat the Latin "pro salute et reditu imperatoris".	Domitianic	Müller 1969, 10-11, 82, without no., TAV. I and II.
43	Fragment of small obelisk with pseudo-hieroglyphs	MdS 2167	Marble.	Remaining H. 0,19 m; W. 0,12-0,13 m	Benevento. Piazza Cardinal Pacca probably reused as building material in the Convent of S. Pietro (information from A. Zazo).	?	The fragment was most probably reused in the construction of the nearby monastery of San Pietro. It stems from a time when the Egyptian hieroglyphs was no longer understood and where hieroglyphs were used only as decorative ingredient. However, what about the Mensa Isiaca - it is Claudian and highly decorative in its use of hieroglyphs?	2nd-4th century AD (End of 3rd/4th cent. AD)	Müller 1969, 64, no. 265, TAV. XXI, 2; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 55; Pirelli 1997, 379.
GRAECO-ROMAN									

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
44	Statue of the Apis bull	MdS 1908	Marble.	Actual L. 1,25 m; H. of anterior part 0,61 m, posterior part 0,59 m	Benevento. Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall.	1903	Although no real parallels are known, the sculpture most likely pre-dates the age of Domitian and perhaps belonged to an earlier temple of Isis in Benevento (perhaps dedicated to Isis Pelagia).	1st century BC (Hellenistic-Roman period)	Müller 1969, 70-71, no. 270, TAV. XXIII, 1; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 47.
45	Sculpture of Isis Pelagia on boat	MdS 1917	Parian (?) Marble	H. 0,46 m; L. 1,02 m; W. 0,44 m; pedestal: L. 0,47 m; W. 0,31 m; H. 0,115 m; Isis' feet: 0,21 m.	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903	The only thing preserved of the goddess herself is her two forward striding feet and the pier connecting the feet and supporting the statue.	1st century BC (?)	Müller 1969, 83-85, no. 279, TAV. XXVI; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 39.
46	Kneeling Isis-worshipper (kneeling on both knees)	MdS 1923	Yellowish marble with distinctive purple veins (Pavonazzetto)	H. 0,95 m; W. shoulders 0,39 m; base H. (front) 0,17 m; (back) 0,185 m, W. 0,42 m; Depth 0,48 m.	Benevento. Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall.	1903	Kneeling in front of the deity was not common among the Greeks and Romans. The surviving examples of kneeling figures are extremely few. However, as a gesture of submission they are frequently encountered in the reproduction of conquered Roman provinces in the form of kneeling captives.	Hadrianic (?)	Walter 1910, 229-244; Müller 1969, 38, 99-101, no. 285, TAV. XXXI; Quack 2005, 714-715, no. 327; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 54-55.
47	Kneeling Isis-worshipper (kneeling on her right knee)	MdS 1925	Pavonazzetto	H. 0,825 m; W. shoulders 0,385 m; Base: W. 0,39 m.	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903		Second half of 1st century AD	Müller 1969, 38, 104-105, no. 287, TAV. XXXIII; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 42-43.
48	Isis-worshipper (originally most likely kneeling, like nos. 1923 and 1925.	MdS 1928	Marble	H. 0,56 m; W. shoulders 0,30 m.	Benevento. Presumably under the northern part of the Lombard city wall. (Yet, not mentioned by Savignoni 1904)	1903?		First half of 1st century AD.	Müller 1969, 108, no. 290, TAV. XXXIV; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 48-49.

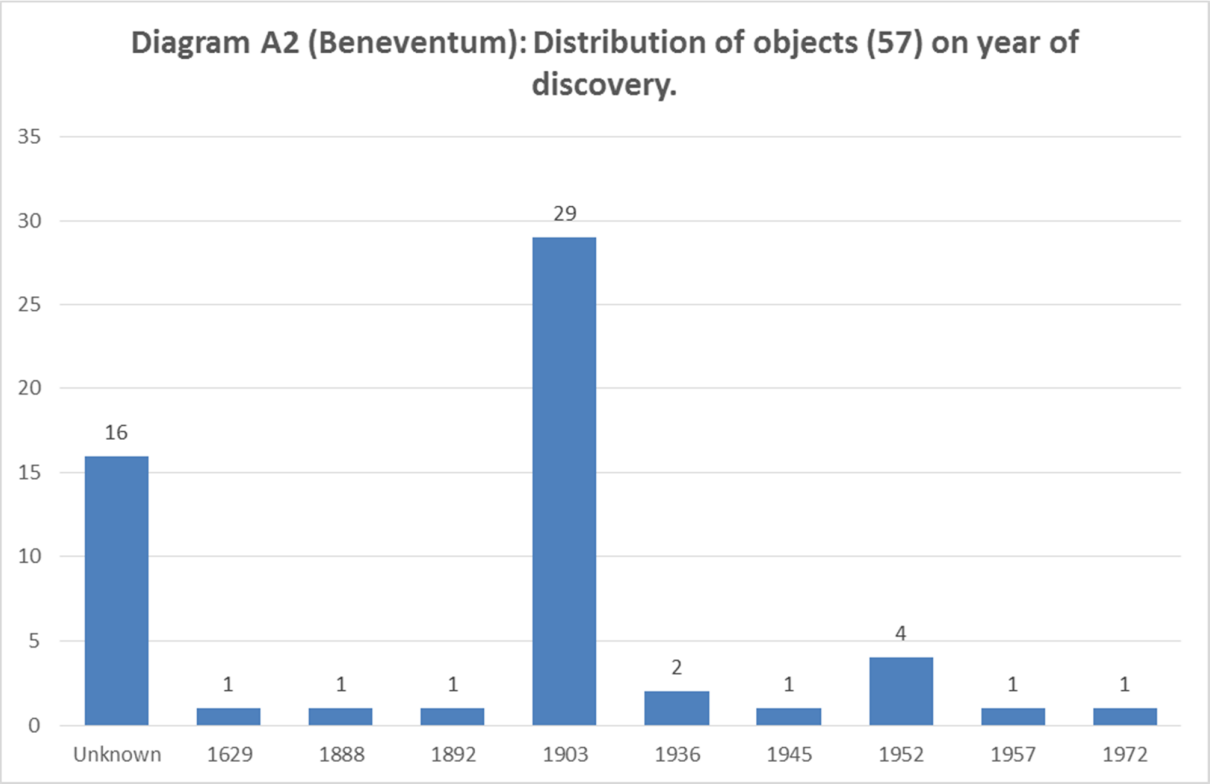
No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
49	Female head belonging to a colossal statue	MdS 1936	Marble (Parian?)	H. 0,62 m	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903	Perhaps the head of a chryselephantine statue. Demeter/Ceres? Hera/Juno? Roman copy - derived from a Greek original of the fourth century BC		Savignoni 1904, 128
50	Statue of Minerva	MdS 1934	Greek Marble (Parian?)	H. 1,40 m	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903	Roman copy - with clear references to the so-called "Athena of Arezzo" that has a Praxitelean origin.		Savignoni 1904, 128-129
51	Togatus, 'Manteltoga'	MdS 1937	Fine grained Greek marble - waxy colour	H. 1,12 m	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903	Roman copy - derived from Hellenistic model.		Savignoni 1904, 129
52	Statue of girl without head, arms (except upper half of the left) and feet.	MdS 1932	Fine grained Greek marble	H. 0,97 m	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903	The fine rendering of her dress suggests that we are dealing with a piece/type of Alexandrian art; a support of this suggestion would be her conjunction with the Egyptian or Egyptianising sculptures found at the same site. Roman copy - derived from a Greek original of the fifth century.		Savignoni 1904, 129-130
53	'Polyclitan' torso	MdS 1931	Green basalt / Greywacke	H. 0,59 m	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903	The intentional blows of destruction are easily recognizable on the hard material. With contrapposto. Doryphoros/Polyclitus. Roman copy - derived from a Greek original of the fifth century.		Savignoni 1904, 130-131
54	Imago clipeata	MdS 1944	Local stone	H. 0,74 m	Benevento. Convent of Sant'Agostino (Under the northern part of the Lombard city wall)	1903	Fragment of an architectural element with an Imperial, now headless, bust in high relief, encircled by a large wreath of flowers, laurel and oak. It was probably placed at the top of an arch or stuck on a facade. The workmanship is poor. (A portrait medallion - a sculptural bust of an emperor? In a circular frame)		Savignoni 1904, 131.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
55	Danzatrice	MdS 493	'basalt' / 'granito bigio' / 'calcare grigio' / 'marmo bigio'	H. 1,08 m	Unknown			2nd century AD	Gregarek 1999, D139; Lauro 1978, 207; Rausa 1997, 45; Schneider 2002, 96; Agnoli 2002, 39-40, n. 149
INSCRIPTIONS									
56	Latin inscription with mention of Isis	MdS 1892	Grey marble.	H. 0,28 m; W. 0,15 m; T. 0,05 m; H. letters 0,035 m	Unknown/Benevento. According to Müller discovered by Engineer Greco in 1903, but there is no mention of provenance.	1903	Only four lines of the middle part of the inscription is preserved. The inscription seem to commemorate the renewal or restoration of a "cella" or sanctuary dedicated to Isis.	2nd century AD.	*RICIS* 505/0803; Müller 1969, 40, no. 251, TAV. XIII, 2; *Il culto di Iside a Benevento* 2007, 55.
57	Latin inscription with mention of the construction of a 'Canopus'.	Lost	?	?	Unknown. In 1634, the, at the time, partly buried and not fully legible inscription was mention in a manuscript by O. Bilotta. According to De Vita (1754), the inscription was 'Prope Aedes D. Principis Morrae ad Dominici' (near the house of the Prince of Morra, at the Dominicans). According to Mommsen (1883), who did not see it, the inscription was in Via S. Dominici n. 10. Prior to this (?), the inscription had been in the garden of Jacopo de Terragnolo.	?	The inscription is dedicated to C. Umbrius Eudrastus, patron of the colony of Beneventum, by the *collegium Martensium* in gratitude for his construction of a 'Canopus'.	2nd-3rd century AD	*CIL* IX, 1685; *RICIS* 505/0804; De Vita 1754-1764, vol. 1, 169 (Classis VI, no. 3); Müller 1969, 22.

Concordance

Müller 1969	Inv. no. Museo del Sannio
Müller no. 250	MdS, inv. 1891
Müller no. 251	MdS, inv. 1892
Müller no. 252	MdS, inv. 1893
Müller no. 253	MdS, inv. 1894
Müller no. 254	MdS, inv. 1895
Müller no. 255	MdS, inv. 1896
Müller no. 256	MdS, inv. 1897
Müller no. 257	MdS, inv. 1898
Müller no. 258	MdS, inv. 1899
Müller no. 259	MdS, inv. 1900
Müller no. 260	MdS, inv. 1903
Müller no. 261	MdS, inv. 2166
Müller no. 262	MdS, inv. 1902
Müller no. 263	MdS, inv. 1901
Müller no. 264	MdS, inv. 2165
Müller no. 265	MdS, inv. 2167
Müller no. 266	MdS, inv. 1905
Müller no. 267	MdS, inv. 1906
Müller no. 268	MdS, inv. 1904
Müller no. 269	MdS, inv. 1907
Müller no. 270	MdS, inv. 1908
Müller no. 272	MdS, inv. 1910
Müller no. 273	MdS, inv. 1911
Müller no. 274	MdS, inv. 1912
Müller no. 275	MdS, inv. 1913
Müller no. 277	MdS, inv. 1915
Müller no. 278	MdS, inv. 1916
Müller no. 279	MdS, inv. 1917
Müller no. 280	MdS, inv. 1918
Müller no. 281	MdS, inv. 1919
Müller no. 282	MdS, inv. 1920
Müller no. 283	MdS, inv. 1921
Müller no. 284	MdS, inv. 1922
Müller no. 285	MdS, inv. 1923
Müller no. 286	MdS, inv. 1924
Müller no. 287	MdS, inv. 1925
Müller no. 288	MdS, inv. 1926
Müller no. 289	MdS, inv. 1927
Müller no. 290	MdS, inv. 1928

Diagrams A2-A5



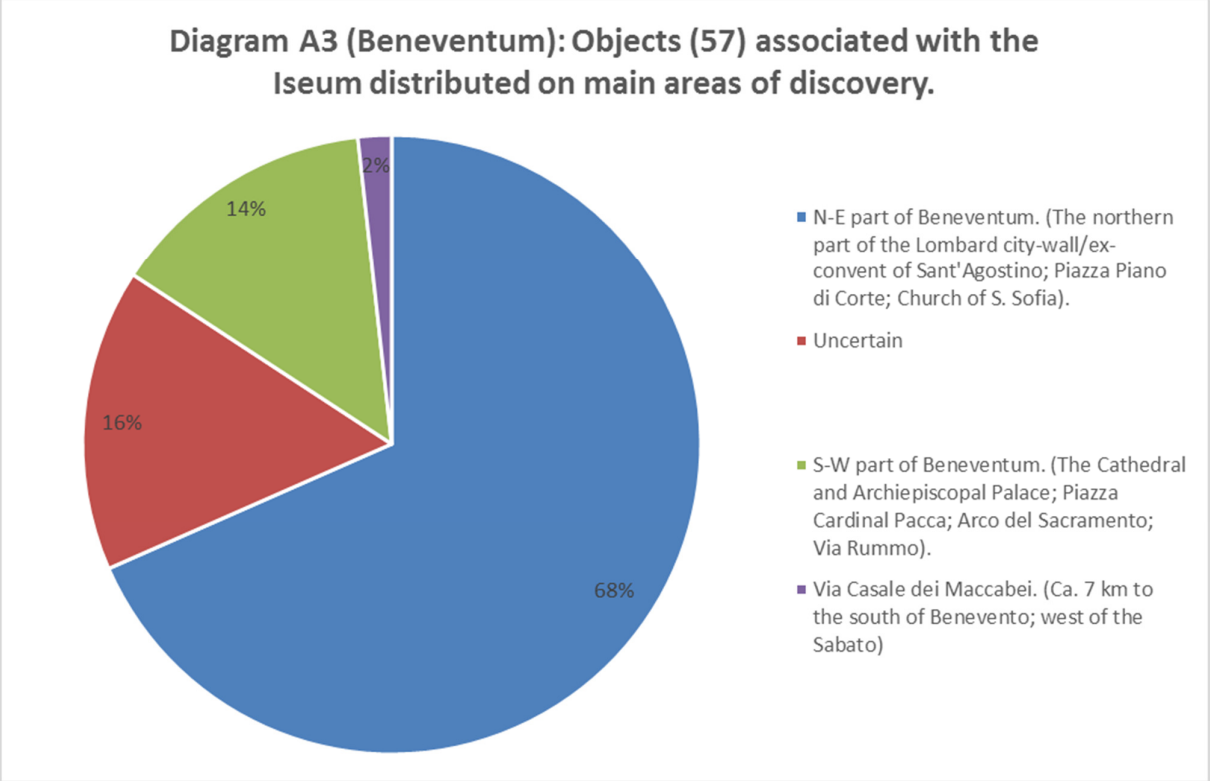


Diagram A4a (Beneventum): Overall chronological distribution of objects (57) associated with the Iseum.

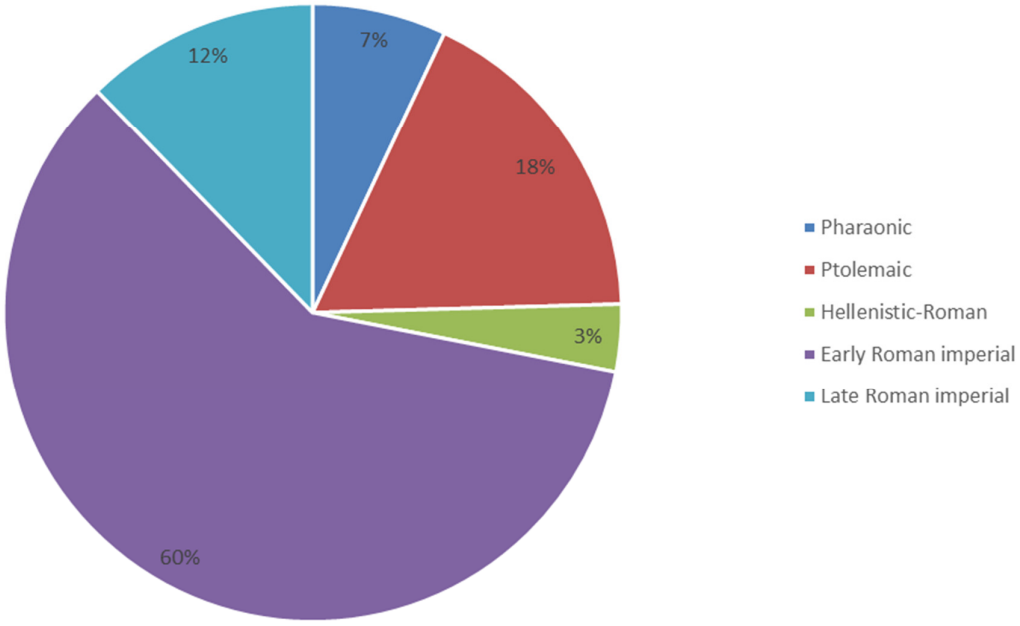
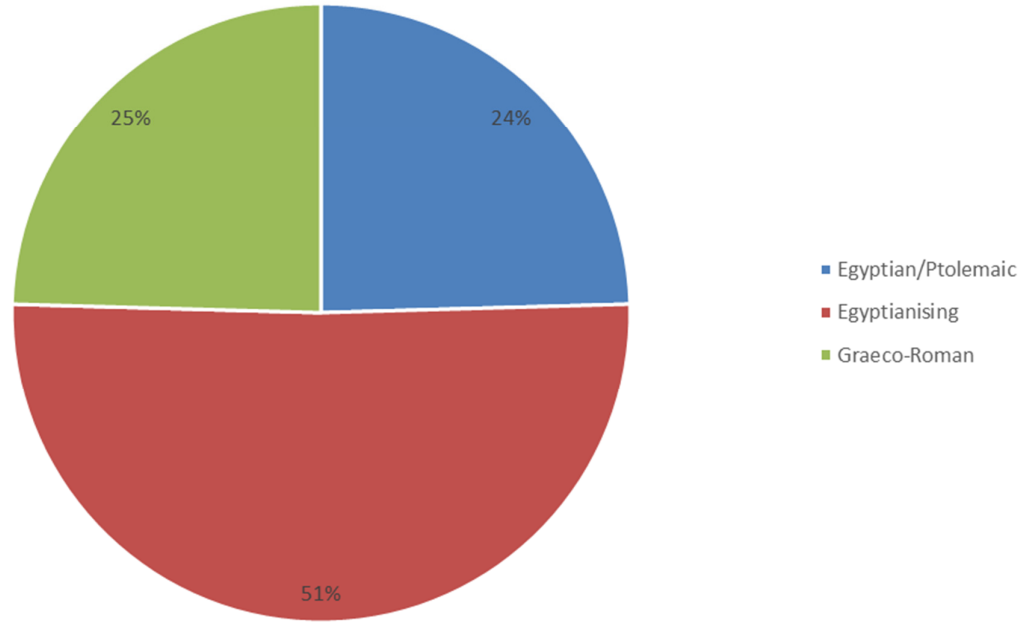


Diagram A4b (Beneventum): Overall 'stylistic' distribution of objects (57) associated with the Iseum.



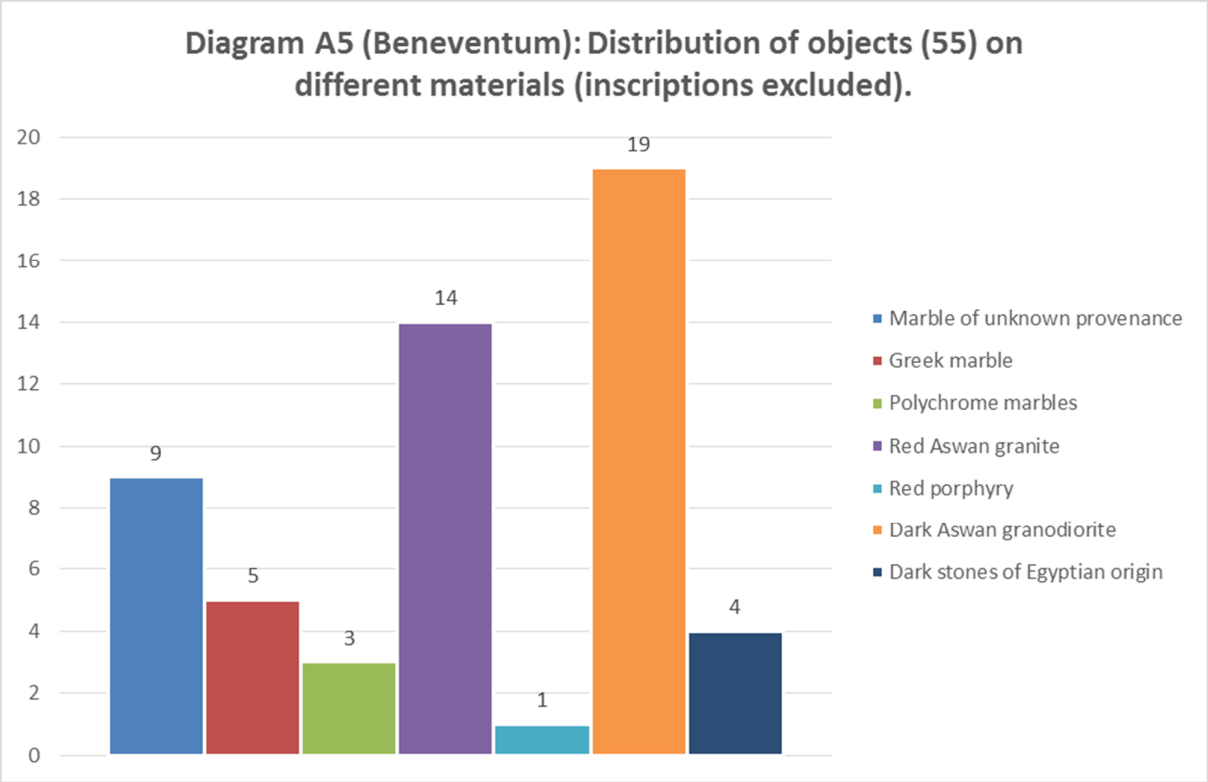


Diagram A5 (Beneventum): Distribution of objects (55) on different materials (inscriptions excluded).
20
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
9
5
3
14
1
19
4
Marble of unknown provenance
Greek marble
Polychrome marbles
Red Aswan granite
Red porphyry
Dark Aswan granodiorite
Dark stones of Egyptian origin

B. Iseum Campense: Catalogue of sculptures, architectural remains and inscriptions

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
EGYPTIAN									
1	Bust of pharaoh Amenemhat III.	MNR Palazzo Altemps 8607.	Black/grey granite.	H. 0,69 m	The statue stood in the Pantheon where Ligorio saw it in the middle of the 16th century. The Ludovisi family since acquired it early in the 17th century. In 1901, it was bought by the Italian state. It is generally assumed that the statue originally was displayed in the Iseum Campense.	16th cent.	Upper part of a statue, which - presumably while in the possession of the Ludovisi family - was processed to a bust. Amenenhat wears a wig on the head. Four thick braids fall forward on each side of the face, while four more fall on the back of his shoulders. From the top of the head, a thick braid falls back on to the middle of the back. The remains of a *uraeus* is visible on the forehead. The beard is arranged in parallel and semi-circular incisions.	12th Dynasty (ca. 1985-1773 BC); reign of Amenemhat III (ca. 1859-1813)	Lanciani 1902-1912, vol. II, 264-269 (fig. 179); Roullet 1972, 102-103, no. 154b; Malaise 1978, 646, no. 385b; Lembke 1994, 234, no. E 28; Manera and Mazza 2001, 42.
2	Statue base with two feet - the left foot advanced.	MNR Palazzo Altemps 72255.	Black basalt.	H. 0,45 m, L. 1,07 m, W. 0,54 m.	Previously in the garden of S. Maria sopra Minerva.	?	A small piece of the back pillar remains. It contains traces of three columns of hieroglyphs. Based on this inscription Roullet indicates Behbeit el-Hagar as the origin of the statue. In fact, there is not sufficient evidence to support this hypothesis. The remaining hieroglyphs do not indicate a precise location.	4th century BC. Early Ptolemaic period.	Roullet 1972, 120, no. 222; Malaise 1978, 646, 385d; Lembke 1994, 237, no. E 33; Manera and Mazza 2001, 43.
3	Head of bald man.	MNR Palazzo Altemps 112108	Grey granite.	H. 0,27 m, W. 0,27 m.	Discovered during work beneath what was then a post office in Via del Seminario (former Dominican monastery and today the official library and office of the Camera dei Deputati.	1930	The face is oval-shaped, the eyes almond-shaped, the nose rather wide and the mouth has thin, tight lips. On the back of the head, there are traces of a back pillar without inscription. The head probably represents a priest or perhaps a child (= rebirth of the dead).	Lembke: Early Ptolemaic, ca. 280-250 BC. Manera & Mazza: 30th Dynasty (380-343 BC)/Early Ptolemaic.	Roullet 1972, 120, no. 223; Malaise 1972, 203, no. 385; Lembke 1994, 235, no. E 30; *Cleopatra Roma* 2000, no. IV.26;

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
									Manera and Mazza 2001, 44.
4	Headless sphinx.	MNR Palazzo Altemps 362622	Black/grey granite.	H. 0,57 m, L. 0,94 m, W. 0,37 m.	Found during renovation work beneath the Palazzo at the corner of Via del Seminario / Piazza S. Macuto. The three sculptures (sphinx, torso, and lion) lay together with other fill from the same area at a depth of nearly three metres, piled there to strengthen the foundations of Palazzo del Seminario.	1987	The sphinx stands on a rectangular, somewhat damaged base. The sculpture lacks the front legs, but the flaps of the *nemes*- headcloth falling on the chest are still visible. At the sphinx's back, the ending of the braid that was once part of hairdressing is still visible. The body is well shaped - the muscles and the rib cage stand out. The tail is coiled around the left hip.	Early Ptolemaic period.	Lembke 1994, 226-227, no. E 17; Manera and Mazza 2001, 45.
5	Male torso.	MNR Palazzo Altemps 362623	Black basalt / Basanite (?)	H. 0,81 m, W. 0,32 m, T. 0,23 m.	As above.	1987	Neck, head, lower leg and feet are missing. He is dressed in a half-sleeved underskirt reaching to the feet, above which he wears a knee long fringed shawl. The shawl leaves his right shoulder bare and it is held together by his left hand across the front. An uninscribed back pillar dominates the back of the statue.	Ptolemaic. The costume is known from the Late Period until the Roman Imperial Period (ca. 750 BC-AD 100). The shawl occur from the middle of the 4th cent. BC.	Lembke 1994, 236, no. E 31; Manera and Mazza 2001, 46-47; Cleopatra *BM* 2001, no. 347.
6	Lion.	MNR Palazzo Altemps 362624	Grey granite with pinkish lodes/veins.	H. 0,44 m, L. 0,84 m, W. 0,55 m.	As above: MNR 362622 and 362623.	1987	Rear part of recumbent Lion with the tail wrapped to the right. The right side is severely damaged; to the left the hind leg is damaged.	Early Ptolemaic period. Although the lion is in a poor condition, the similarity with the right lion on the Capitol Steps is so striking that a joint origin must be assumed.	Lembke 1994, 223, no. E 12; Manera and Mazza 2001, 47.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
7	Sunken relief.	MNR Palazzo Altemps 52045	Red granite.	H. 1,31 m, W. 1,57 m, T. 0,40 m	Found near the Casa Tranquilli (Via del Beato Angelico 21/22). Then in the courtyard of the Palazzo Galitzin in Via della Scrofa. Since 1895 in the MNR.	1856	The fragment was originally part of the Chamber of Osiris *Hemag* in the sanctuary dedicated to Isis at Behbeit el-Hagar. A scene of offering to the gods, three gods sitting on thrones. From the left: Horus with a falcon's head wearing the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, an anthropomorphic deity without name holding the *heqa* -sceptre and the *ankh* -sign and finally Osiris with the crown of Upper Egypt decorated with two feathers, holding the *uas*-sceptre and the *ankh* sign. The gods receive offerings from the king Nectanebo II, whose figure is lost. A fourth divinity behind Osiris is also lost.	The earliest cartouches visible are those of Nectanebo I and II in the eastern part of the temple. Further to the west are the cartouches of Ptolemies II and III. 30th Dynasty (360-343 BC).	Roullet 1972, 60, no. 27; Lembke 1994, 195-196, no. D 31; *Cleopatra Roma* 2000, no. IV.38; Manera and Mazza 2001, 48.
8	Sunken relief.	Unknown.	?	?	During the expansion of the "cloaca ad Collegium Romanum".	1374 (?)	Described by Kircher 1666. Lost already in the 17th century. As Kircher does not mention the material of the relief, it could be a Roman imitation.	Pharaonic or Ptolemaic (?)	Roullet 1972, 61, no. 29; Lembke 1994, 197, no. D
9	Two relief fragments.	Unknown.	Granite.	?	Silvestrelli house, Via del Beato Angelico 18	1853	"Due frammenti di intagli in granito, con brani di mistiche figure alate; i quali frammenti dovranno quindi riunirsi al gruppo degli intagli del sacrario" (Lanciani 1883, 60)	Pharaonic or Ptolemaic (?)	Lembke 1994, 197, no. D 33.
10	Two relief fragments.	Unknown.	Red granite.	?	Found during the excavation by Lanciani in the Via del Beato Angelico.	1883	"Due frammenti di bassorilievi ad incavo, in granito rosa, di tempo tardo, per quanto à possibile giudicare dai piccoli pezzi che tuttora rimangono" (Schiaparelli 1883, 251).	Late Period (?)	Lanciani 1883, 244; Schiaparelli 1883, 251; Lembke 1994, 197-198, no. D 34.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
11	Sphinx of the Pharaoh Amasis.	Rome, MC 35	Brownish basalt / basanite marrone cupo / Greywacke	H. 0,90 m, L. 1,28 m.	Found during the excavation by Lanciani in the Via del Beato Angelico.	1883	Well preserved recumbent sphinx. The nose and the *uraeus* above the *nemes* head cloth were deliberately cut off and the inscription on the chest partially destroyed due to acts of *damnatio memoriae.* Other damages are visible on both sides of the *nemes* head cloth, which has been cut off behind the ears and a part of the plinth with the front paws are also missing. Minor damages are also visible on the braid on the back, the right rear paw and tail. Amasis wears a collar, *usekh,* consisting of six orders of beads, the last row in the form of droplets.	Late Period, 26th Dynasty, Amasis (570-526 BC). The original location of the sphinx was Sais.	Schiaparelli 1883, 245-246; Roullet 1972, 133, no. 279; Malaise 1972, 198, no. 364; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 28-31; Lembke 1994, 225-226, no. E 16.
12	Squatting baboon.	Rome, MC 26	Grey granite.	H. 1,05 m.	Found during the excavations conducted in Via del Beato Angelico, behind the apse of the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, together with another baboon (no. 32) and the sphinx of Amasis. The two baboons constituted a pair.	1883	Squatting baboon. The forelegs are resting on the knees of the rear legs. The tail is coiled to the right around the body. Between the hind legs, the sex is visible. When found both statues lacked the outermost part of the snout. The lower right part of the plinth of MC 26 is missing. The inscriptions reveal that the sculptures were consecrated to Thoth. The direction of the inscription shows that the baboons originally were placed opposite of each other, i.e., MC 26 to the left, MC 32 to the right (whether this was the case in the Iseum Campense is unknown).	Late Period, 30th Dynasty, Nectanebo II (360-343 BC)	Schiaparelli 1883, 246-248; Roullet 1972, 125, nos. 243244; Malaise 1972, 198, no. 366; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 36-38; Lembke 1994, 228229, nos. E 20-21.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
13	Squatting baboon.	Rome, MC 32	Grey granite.	As above.	As above.	1883	As above. They might originally stem from the temple of Thoth in Hermopolis Parva in the Delta which was built by Nectanebo I.	As above.	As above.
14	Recumbent lion.	Rome, MC 28 (left of Michelangelo's ramp)	Grey granite with pinkish lodes/veins.	H. 0,85 m.	?	?	During the 15th and early 16th century, the lions stood before the Lateran Basilica together with the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. Around 1538, the lions were moved (back) to the church of S. Stefano del Cacco where Vacca (1594) records having seen them. From here, the lions were moved to the Capitoline Hill during the pontificate of Pius IV (1559-1565). Shortly after, during the reorganisation of the Piazza (1578-1583), they were placed at the foot of Michelangelo's cordonata. When the Acqua Felice was lead to the Capitoline in 1588, the lions were adapted to waterspouts. The discovery of another lion of the same type within the area of the Iseum Campense makes it likely that the two lions originally belonged to the sculptural decoration of the Iseum.	Early Ptolemaic.	Vacca 1594 in Fea 1790, 67, no. 27; Roullet 1972, 130-131, nos. 271-272; Malaise 1972, 193-194, no. 347; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 71-85; Lembke 1994, 221-223, nos. E 10-11.
15	Recumbent lion.	Rome, MC 30 (right of Michelangelo's ramp)	Grey granite with pinkish lodes/veins.	H. 0,85 m.	?	?	As above.	Early Ptolemaic.	As above.
16	Recumbent lion.	Vatican, MGE 21 (22676)	Dark grey granite with reddish veins.	H. 0,77 m.	Since the 12th cent. the lions lay before the portico of the Pantheon. In 1586, they were removed by	?	Reclining side-looking lion with crossed front paws. The tail rests on the front of the plinth and interrupts the inscription. The original location of the lions	Late Period, Nectanebo I (30th dynasty, 378-361 BC).	Botti and Romanelli 1951, 14-18; Roullet 1972, 131132,

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
					Sixtus V to be used as waterspouts in the fountain of the Acqua Felice. During the papacy of Gregory XVI (1831-1846), they were replaced by copies and transferred to the Vatican Museum.		were the temple of Thoth at Hermopolis Parva. In the inscription, Thoth is called "in Rehui". This epithet refers to Hermopolis Parva.		nos. 273-274; Malaise 1972, 201, no. 379; Lembke 1994, 223, nos. E 13-14.
17	Recumbent lion.	Vatican, MGE 23 (22677)	As above.	H. 0,77 m.	As above.	?	As above.	As above.	As above.
18	Statue base.	Turin Museo Egizio 17136 (Previously: MGE 41)	Red granite.	H. 0,30 m, Plinth: H. 0,21 m), W. 0,44 m, T. 0,27 m.	Found in the courtyard of a house at the Piazza del Collegio Romano.	1923. In Turin since 1929.	Fragment of base of a somewhat under life-size statue with a part of the right foot preserved. There are remains of inscriptions on the side. It is likely to stem from Heliopolis.	New Kingdom, 19th dynasty, Ramses II (1279-1213 BC)?	Marucchi 1924, 107-116; Roullet 1972, 120, no. 221; Malaise 1972, 195, no. 354.Lembke 1994, 236, no. E 32; Lollio Barberi et al. 1995, 179-180.
19	Female sphinx.	Rome, Museo Barracco 13	Grey/black granite.	H. 42 cm., L. 0,77 m, W. 0,30 m.	Found during work beneath the house of Pietro Tranquilli in Via del Beato Angelico 23.	1856	Female sphinx with Hathor locks/wig. Inscription on the breast. Most likely, the sphinx represent one of Thutmose's wives/queens. The inscription mentions Amon-Re, the main god in Thebes, which might have been the sculpture's original location. The sphinx wears a collar, *usekh*, consisting of six orders of beads, the last row in the form of droplets.	New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, reign of Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC). Earlier identified as queen Hatshepsut.	Roullet 1972, 133, no. 278; Malaise 1972, 197, no. 361; Lembke 1994, 225, no. E 15; Sist 1996, 48-50.
20	Clepsydra.	Turin, Museo Egizio Suppl. 8.	Red granite.	H. 0,21 m, L. 0,20 m, T. 0,04 m.	The fragment was found behind S. Maria sopra Minerva.	?	Fragment of the upper edge of clepsydra (water-clock) with inscriptions and reliefs.	Early Ptolemaic (ca. 300 BC).	Kircher 1652-1654, III, 384; Roullet 1972, 146, no. 330; Lembke 1994, 246-247, no. E

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
									52; Grimm and Schoske 2005, 58-59, no. 35.
21	Clepsydra.	Rome, Museo Barracco 27.	Black basalt.	H. 0,36-0,38 m, ø (base) 0, 28 m.	In the area of the Iseum Campense? According to Lembke 1994 probably in the Tranquilli house, Via del Beato Angelico 23, but this is uncertain.	1856?	Fragment of the upper edge of clepsydra with inscriptions and reliefs. Origin: Egypt (?) (Lollio Barberi et al. 1995); Alexandria (?) (Sist 1996). Roullet (1972, 146) and Lembke (1994, 247) mentions 1856 as the year of discovery with reference to Barracco (1883, 104-111). There is, however, no specific mention of the clepsydra in Barracco's description of the finds from this year. Barracco only says that the clepsydra was found in Rome - not when or where it was found.	Ptolemy II (285-246 BC).	Malaise 1978, 645, no. 383a; Lembke 1994, 247, no. E 53; Lollio Barberi et al. 1995, 160; Sist 1996, 71.
22	Clepsydra	St. Petersburg Hermitage, 8698 (2507b)	Black granite / basalt (?).	H. 0,205 m	? Mid-16th cent. in Palazzo Carpi/Campo Marzio. Since 1887-1888 in the Hermitage.	?	Fragment of the lower part of clepsydra.	Ptolemy II (285-246 BC).	Roullet 1972, 145-146, no. 328; Lembke 1994, 248, no. E 54
23	Statue of Horus.	Munich, SSÄK WAF 22.	Black syenite / granite.	H. 1,63 m.	Found in the Dominican monastery. The statue was given to Cardinal A. Barberini and was purchased from the Palazzo Barberini by the Munich Glyptothek in 1815.	1635 - 1636	Standing anthropomorphic statue with head of a falcon, i.e., Horus. In the left hand, he holds the *ankh* -sign. Horus wears a long-haired wig (Götterhaar), a broard collar with several rows of pearls and a knee long kilt/*shendyt*. The feet and the base stem from another Egyptian statue, representing a naophorous, in a different material. The feet and base were added in the 18th century.	New Kingdom, 18th dynasty, Amenhotep III (1390-1352 BC).	Donato 1639, 75; Eggebrecht 1970, no. 20, plate 8; Roullet 1972, 90, no. 113; Malaise 1972, 201, no. 377; Lembke 1994, 228, no. E 19; Grimm and Schoske 2005, 127-128, no.104.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
24	Statue of the goddess Sekhmet.	Rome, Villa Albani n. 4 (Curto 1985).	Black granite.	H. 2,0 m.	"The piece was acquired in the 16th century by Cardinal Cesi and stood, rather damaged, in his gardens at Rome… there were other Egyptian pieces, from the Iseum Campense, in the Cesi gardens, and the Sekhmet is … likely to come from this temple.."	?	Standing anthropomorphic statue with head of a lion, i.e., Sekhmet. She wears a sun disc and a *uraeus* on her head. Both arms, with ankh-sign and was-sceptre, and the legs from the knees down are modern restorations - carried out either in the 16th or the 17th cent. The back pillar is inscribed. Sekhmet is called "Mistress of Isheru" which indicate that the statue stems from the temple of Mut in Karnak.	New Kingdom, 19th dynasty, Ramses II (1279-1213 BC).	Barracco and Helbig 1893, 48-49; Barracco and Pollak 1910, 16, no. 27; Roullet 1972, 100-101, no. 150; Curto 1985, 21-25, no. 4; Lembke 1994, 229-230, no. E 22.
25	Naophorous.	Florence, MAN 5420.	Dark slate / basalt / Greywacke.	H. 0,60 m.	As inv. 5419. Found on a marble floor during renovation work in the house of Pietro Tranquilli in Via del Beato Angelico 23. Bought by the Museum in Florence in 1881.	1856	Lower part of a kneeling figure with naiskos between his hands. The naiskos contains a female goddess (Neith?). The back pillar and the base are inscribed. According to the inscription, the statue represents the priest Wahibre who was governor of the Western Delta/Sais during the 26th dynasty.	Late Period, 26th Dynasty, Amasis? (570-526 BC).	Roullet 1972, 112, no. 191; Malaise 1972, 196, no. 360; Lembke 1994, 231-232, no. E 25.
26	Stelophorous.	Florence, MAN 1788.	Serpentinite.	H. 0,24 m.	In the middle of the 16th cent. the stelophorous was in the "museo carpense", i.e., in Cardinal Carpi's palazzo near S. Maria sopra Minerva. Since the 17th cent. it was considered lost. Based on drawings by Dupérac and dal Pozzo Lembke was able to identify it in Florence.	?	Fragment of a standing man who holds a Horus-stele between his arms. The upper body is broken off above the stele and the feet and the lower right part of the stele is also missing. The stele depicts the Horus child, holding a scorpion and a gazelle in his right hand and a snake and a lion in his left. Towards the left, the stele is defined by Nefertem's lotus with two high feathers, to the right by a papyrus flower with a	Late Period, 30.-31. Dynasty (380-332 BC).	Roullet 1972, 119, no. 216; Lembke 1994, 233, no. E 27.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							falcon. Above the head of the Horus child there is a Bes mask. According to the inscription, the statue represents the priest Merj-herjtef who was priest of Chentechtai/Khenti-Kheti, the (crocodile) god of Athribis in Lower Egypt.		
27	Hathor cow with suckling Horemheb.	Florence, MAN 5419.	Reddish granite.	H. 1,035 m, base: L. 0,745 m, W. 0,705 m.	Found on a marble floor during renovation work in the house of Pietro Tranquilli in Via del Beato Angelico 23. Bought by the Museum in Florence in 1881.	1856	Posterior part of Hathor cow with a suckling young king. Part of an inscription is preserved on the back and the left side of the base. This kind of rendering is rare in statuary but quite common in reliefs.	New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, Horemheb (1312-1295 BC).	Roullet 1972, 129, no. 266; Malaise 1972, 196, no. 359; Lembke 1994, 227-228, no. E 18.
28	Portrait of king.	Copenhagen, NCG ÆIN 933.	Diorite.	H. 0,47m.	Said to be found in the area of the Iseum Campense. Bought in Rome by the NCG in 1896.	?	Heavily reworked head of a colossal statue with inlaid eyes. In the hair, there are marks for a ribbon, and on the forehead for a *uraeus*. At the back of the head remnants of the original back pillar is still visible.	Early Ptolemaic. Alexander? Ptolemy III?	Bothmer 1973, 133; Roullet 1972, 102, no. 154; Malaise 1978, 646, no. 385a; Lembke 1994, 234, no. E 29; Nielsen & Østergaard 1997, 50-51, no. 21; Stanwick 2002, 132, J3.
29	Statue of Isis.	Unknown	Egyptian hard stone	?	Described by dal Pozzo and Bartoli as found in the garden of the Dominican monastery	1642?	According to dal Pozzo the statue was found together with the Horus statue, which is now in Munich. Lembke has a list of four possible identification in various present collections.	?	Lembke 1994, 230, no. E 23.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
30	Seated statue of Ramses II.	Paris, Louvre, A. 22	Lower part: Egyptian alabaster. Upper part: Greenish Italian alabaster.	H. 2,03 m, W. 0,53 m, D. 1,15 m	Area of the Collegio Romano. Since in the Collezione Albani and from there to the Louvre (1815). Winckelmann 2006, 174, n. 1: "lorsqu'on fit les excavations pour le séminaire romain, vers l'endroit où était jadis l'ancien temple d'Isis dans le champ de Mars; et près de là sur un terrain appartenant aux P.P. Dominicains…"	1720	Statue of pharaoh seated on a throne with back pillar with pointed end. The top of the statue, from the waist up, including the arms, is a modern restoration of the 18th century.	New Kingdom, Ramses II (1279-1213 BC).	Winckelmann 2006, 174, n. 1 (Isis); *Antiquités Égyptiennes* I, 185; Lembke 1994, 231, no. E 24 (Isis); Lollio Barberi 1995, 193-195; Humbert et al. 1994, 54-56.
31	Naophorous.	Unknown.	Granite?	?	Drawn/described by Cronaca and Ligorio (15th-16th cent.) as being by the Arco di Camilliano	?	Standing figure with naos, which contains two signs (eternity and might), instead of a god. The head and feet are missing	?	Roullet 1972, 112, no. 192; Lembke 1994, 232, no. E 26.
32	Fragment of statue.	Unknown.	Black basalt	L. 0,55 m, W. 0,50 m, H. 0,14 m	Via Lata	1923	Kneeling figure on oval base. The hands rest on the knees.	Late Period (25th-31th Dynasty/747-332BC)	Mancini 1925, 236; Lembke 1994, 237, no. E 34.
33	Fragment of statue.	?	"Egyptian marble"	?	During the renovation of the Dominican monastery	1642	Seen and described by dal Pozzo. Fragment of statue, damaged by fire.	?	Lembke 1994, 237, no. E 35
34	Stelophorous.	Turin, Museo Egizio Suppl. 9 and Florence, MAN 8708	Black granite	H. 0,36 m	? Found in Rome "in antiquissimis urbis ruderibus", since in the Collezione Kircheriana, in Turin since 1894.	?	Fragment of a standing man holding a Horus-stele between his arms. The stele depicts the Horus child who holds a gazelle, a lion and two scorpions (?) / snakes in his hands. The statue is covered with magic spells. The fragment in Turin was reunited with the lower part of the sculpture in Florence,	First half of 4th century BC.	Lollio Barberi 1995, 183185; Grimm and Schoske 2005, 57-58, no. 34.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							holding the stele, in 1984. This stelophorous is not the same as the one described by Lembke 1994, 233, no. E 27 as otherwise indicated in Lollio Barberi 1995, 177.		
35	Recumbent lion.	Dresden, Skulpturensam. Aeg. 770/H. 16.	Red granite.	L. 1,29 m, W. 0,49 m, H. 0,56 m.	These lions are probably the ones Aldrovandi saw in the gardens of Cardinal Cesi in Rome in the middle of the 16th cent. The Cesi collection was partly sold to Cardinal Albani and since acquired by the Antikensammlung in Dresden in 1728.	?	Frontally oriented lions of the same type as the lions below the Capitol ramp. Like these, the mane is sickle-formed on the back, which would indicate a post Pharaonic date. The association with the Iseum Campense is questionable.	1st cent. AD.	Roullet 1972, 130, nos. 268270; Malaise 1972, 202, no. 382; Lembke 1994, 241, nos. E 41-43; Lollio Barberi et al. 1995, 208-210; Grimm and Schoske 2005, 68-69, no. 47-48.
36	Recumbent lion.	Dresden, Skulpturensam. Aeg. 771/H. 17.	Red granite.	L. 1,32 m, W. 0,49 m, H. 0,56 m.	As above.	?	As above.	1st cent. AD.	As above.
37	Recumbent lion.	Dresden, Skulpturensam. Aeg. 772/H. 18.	Red granite.	L. 1,25 m, W. 0,49 m, H. 0,56 m.	As above.	?	As above.	1st cent. AD.	As above.
EGYPTIANISING									
38	Squatting baboon.	MGE 34/Inscription: IG XIV 1264 / CIL VI 857.	Brown marble (Roullet); blue-grey basalt (Lembke); marmo bigio (Botti and Romanelli)	H. 1,10 m.	Found in the Middle Ages below S. Stefano "del Cacco". In 1562, it was moved to the Museo Capitolino and in 1838 to the Vatican.	?	Squatting baboon. The forelegs are resting on the knees of the rear legs. Between the legs, the sex lies on the plinth. The tail is coiled to the right around the body. The plinth is inscribed on the front (in Greek) and the sides (right: Greek; left: Latin). The upper part of the sculpture (head and right shoulder) is missing, the right hand is damaged, and the right corner	AD 159	Botti and Romanelli 1951, 114-115; Roullet 1972, 125. no. 245; Lembke 1994, 142-143, no. B 8 and 238, no. E 36; *RICIS* 501/0123.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							of the plinth is broken off. The inscription mentions the Greek artists "Phidias and Ammonios sons of Phidias". The sculpture was set up as a public dedication by the curator aedium during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161).		
39	Squatting baboon.	Unknown	"di pietra"	?	?	?	Seen and drawn by Ligorio in the library of Cardinal Carpi/Campo Marzio around the middle of the 16th cent. Perhaps it was the companion to the baboon now in the Vatican? The tail is coiled leftwards around the body, which could indicate that the sculpture was a Roman imitation.	2nd cent. AD?	Roullet 1972, 125, no. 247; Lembke 1994, 239, no. E 37.
40	Apis bull.	Unknown	Marble	?	Found in the Dominican monastery. Broken and reused as building material by the monks	1555-1559	Mentioned by Ligorio.	Roman Imperial Period	Roullet 1972, 124, no. 242; Lembke 1994, 240, no. E 40.
41	Sphinx (Domitian?).	Rome, MC 33	Red granite (coarse).	H. 0,59 m, L. 1,27m.	Found in the area below the house of the Tranquilli in Via del Beato Angelico 23. Then in the garden of the *casa* Tranquilli and only later transferred to the Musei Capitolini.	1856	Recumbent sphinx with *nemes* headcloth. The tail is wrapped leftwards around the body. The sickle formed mane distinguished itself from the back, the ribs are not indicated. The back follows an S-line contrary to Egyptian sphinxes where the back gradually rises in a straight line towards the head. The lateral edges of the upper part of the *nemes* are slightly fragmented, the tip of the nose and the upper part of the *uraeus* are broken off. The eyes were inlaid in another	Roman (Domitianic?) The sphinx may date to the end of the Ptolemaic period - which does not exclude a date at the beginning of the Imperial period (Ensoli Vittozzi).	Roullet 1972, 133-134, no. 280; Malaise 1972, 197, no. 362; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 32-35; Lembke 1994, 241242, no. E 44.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							material, the mouth is small with slightly protruding lips, the ears big and stick to both sides, partly because of the *nemes* - cloth, which is placed behind the ears.		
42	Crocodile.	Rome, MC 24	Red granite (coarse).	L. 1,70 m.	Found during the excavations by Lanciani in the Via del Beato Angelico. Six metres below the present street level in "a channel paved with marble".	1883	The crocodile was worked together with the plinth on which it is elongated. The plinth is slightly slanted to the front. The body is rendered in an S-shaped movement. Restored by G. Cerulli right after the discovery. The crocodile was an incarnation of the god Sobek who was one of the major deities of the Fayum in the Hellenistic and Roman period. The crocodile was also an important component in the Nilotic landscape - the taste for the exotic.	Late Ptolemaic or (more likely) Roman imitation.	Lanciani 1883, 244; Roullet 1972, 127, no. 254; Malaise 1972, 198, 365; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 42-45; Lembke 1994. 239-240, no. E 39.
43	Roman copy of female sphinx (Museo Barracco 13).	Previously in the collection of Clarence Day, Memphis, TN. Sold, Sotheby's New York (December 2010).	Green porphyry.	H. 0,50 m, L. ca. 0,95 m, W. ca. 0,30 m.	The sphinx was probably found together with its twin beneath the house of house of Pietro Tranquilli in Via del Beato Angelico 23. Later it was in the Kevorkian collection.	1856	Except from the missing inscription on the breast, the sphinx is an exact copy of the Barracco sphinx. (A pair as the baboons).	Domitianic (?).	Roullet 1972, 132-133, no. 277; Malaise 1978, 645, no. 361a; Lembke 1994, 242, no. 45.
44	Egyptianising portrait (Domitian?).	Private collection, Frankfurt aM. The portrait is now in Erlangen, Archäologisches Museum	Black basalt.	H. 0,25 m.	The portrait was found behind S. Maria sopra Minerva. Purchased in the autumn of 1970.	?	Frontally oriented head with *nemes* -headscarf and *uraeus* above the forehead. The back of the head and the right half of the face are broken off. Moreover, the nose, mouth and the left ear are damaged. Ashton (2001, 90-91, no. 17)	Domitianic (?)	Lembke 1994, 242-243, no. E 46; Ashton 2001, 90-91, no. 17.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							tentatively associates the Egyptian-style portrait head with Ptolemy VI.		
45	Egyptianising stele	Rome, Garden of the Palazzo Barberini	Red granite.	H. 2,40 m, W. 1,22 m; T. 0,19 m	? Lanciani assumes that it was found in the Dominican monastery and given to Cardinal Barberini by the monks.	? 1642	Stela with identical but reversed representation on both sides. Amon-Re with double crown and sun disc seated on throne. He holds a *was* -sceptre and a small basket with a ram in his hands.	Roman Imperial Period	Roullet 1972, 142, no. 320; Lembke 1994, 244, no. E 47.
46	Osiris-Canopus Jar	Unknown	Green stone	?	? Mid-16th cent. in Palazzo Carpi / Campo Marzio. Since 1887/1888 in the Hermitage.	?	Only the lid/head of the jar was preserved.	Roman Imperial Period	Roullet 1972, 98-99, no. 145; Lembke 1994, 248249, no. E 56.
47	Column with Egyptianising reliefs	Rome, MC, inv. 2 Courtyard of Palazzo Nuovo	Grey Elba granite	H. ca. 4 m, ø = 0,95 m, H. of figures 0,85 m.	Via del Piè di Marmo.	1923	The relief frieze encircles the lower part of the column shaft. Represented are four pairs of priests standing on high footstools or pedestals (?) facing one another. Some seem to be in an act of offering while others are carrying sacred objects. The priests have shaved heads surrounded by laurel wreaths, they are wearing Egyptian sandals (*baxeae*) and long robes, those who carry the canopic jars have their arms and hands covered. Others have their shoulders bares - their robes are wrapped around their bodies leaving it open to one side forming a pleat beneath the armpits.	Age of Domitian (Lembke 1994, 186); Septimius Severus/Caracalla (Ensoli 1998, 420-421, 425); the second century AD or later (Wild 1981, 121)	Mancini 1925, 237-239; Roullet 1972, 58, nos. 1719; Malaise 1972, 195, no. 352; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 59-70; Lembke 1994, 186, no. D 3; Ensoli 1998, 420.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
48	Column with Egyptianising reliefs.	Rome, MC, inv. 13 Courtyard of Palazzo Nuovo	Grey Elba granite	H. 4,70 m, ø= 0,95 m, H. of figures 0,85 m	Found during work beneath the house of Pietro Tranquilli in Via del Beato Angelico 23. Found together with the papyrus capital MC 25.	1856	The reliefs on this column are generally quite worn and some of the figures are destroyed. See above.	As above.	Roullet 1972, 58, nos. 1719; Malaise 1972, 197-198, no. 363; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 59-70; Lembke 1994, 187, no. D 4.
49	Column with Egyptianising reliefs.	Rome, MC, inv. 12 Courtyard of Palazzo Nuovo	Grey Elba granite	H. 4,70 m, ø= 0,95 m, H. of figures 0,85 m	Found during the excavations by Lanciani in the Via del Beato Angelico: "a short distance from the obelisk, but at a higher level, that is, 2 meters below the street level."	1883	See above.	As above.	Lanciani 1883, 244; Roullet 1972, 58, nos. 17-19; Malaise 1972, 198-199, no. 368; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 59-70; Lembke 1994, 187188, no. D 5; Ensoli 1998, 420.
50	Column with Egyptianising reliefs.	Florence, MAN without no.	Grey Elba granite	H. 0,92 m, ø = 0,92 m	This column was drawn by dal Pozzo in 1642 and according to him found near the Dominican monastery. In 1652, Kircher mentions the column as standing in the Medici gardens in Rome. It was probably taken to Florence between 1780-1788 where it is attested from 1825.	?	The preserved height of the shaft corresponds to the height of the figures. Thus only the top of the footstools are visible and nothing of the shaft above the relief. See above.	As above.	Roullet 1972, 57-58, no. 16; Malaise 1972, 203, no. 386; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 59; Lembke 1994, 188, no. D 6; Ensoli 1998, 419-420.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
51	Column with reliefs	Unknown. (According to Lanciani in the Vatican, MGE)	Grey Elba granite	?	Casa Silvestrelli, Via del Beato Angelico 18.	1853	Lanciani compares the column with the column in the MC found three years later in the same street (MC 12).	As above.	Lanciani 1883, 47; Malaise 1972, 196, no. 357; Lembke 1994, 189, no. D 7.
52	Column (with reliefs?)	Unknown.	Granite. Elba?	H. 2 m, ø = 0,90 m.	Via del Piè di Marmo	1923	Because of the similar ø, Lembke suggests that it might be the plain upper part of one of the relief columns.	Domitianic (?).	Mancini 1925, 239; Lembke 1994, 189, no. D 8.
53	Lower part of papyrus column	Vatican, MGE 68	Luna Marble	H. 0,65 m, ø = 0,50 m.	Casa Silvestrelli, Via del Beato Angelico 18	1853	Roman imitation of lower part of simple papyrus column. It was found together with a papyrus capital and they (capital & column) probably belongs together.	Severan (?)	Roullet 1972, 58, no. 20; Malaise 1972, 196, no. 356; Lembke 1994, 191, no. D 19.
54	Fragment of column	Unknown.	?	H. 0,53 m, ø = 1,15 m.	During the renovation of the Dominican monastery	1642	Roman imitation of lower part of simple papyrus column - bigger size than the papyrus column described above.	Severan (?)	Lembke 1994, 192, no. D 20.
55	Papyrus capital	Vatican, MGE 77	Luna Marble	H. 0,68 m, ø = 0,84 m	Casa Silvestrelli, Via del Beato Angelico 18	1853	Roman imitation of a papyrus capital with Egyptian palmette leaves arranged in three rows. Type: open papyrus capital. Very common in Egypt. The ø of the capital is smaller than the similar capital in the MC. Two different column-sizes are thus present in the sanctuary.	Severan (?)	Roullet 1972, 57, no. 15; Malaise 1972, 196, no. 356; Lembke 1994, 192, no. D 21.
56	Fragment of papyrus capital.	Rome, MC 25	White marble, maybe from Luni.	H. 0,53 m, max ø = 1,15 m.	Found during work beneath the house of Pietro Tranquilli in Via del Beato Angelico 23.	1856	Fragment of a Roman imitation of a papyrus capital with Egyptian palmette leaves arranged in three rows. Type: open papyrus capital. The capital belonged to (and was found together with) one of the campaniform?/relief column shafts from the Iseum	Age of Domitian.	Roullet 1972, 57, nos. 9, 1014; Malaise 1972, 197, 363; Malaise 1978, 645, no. 357a; Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 52; Lembke 1994,

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							Campense (MC 12). A column type that was very popular during the Ptolemaic and Roman period.		192-193, nos. D 22.
57	(Fragment?) of papyrus capital	Unknown. (According to Lanciani in the Vatican, MGE)	White marble (?)	?	According to Lanciani 1897, 504 five similar capitals were found by A. Silvestrelli who owned the house next to the Tranquilli in Via di S. Ignazio/Via del Beato Angelico 23.	1859	These capitals were similar to the capital in the MC. They were brought to the Museo Etrusco Vaticano - but are no longer to be found.)	Age of Domitian (?)	Lanciani 1897, 504; Roullet 1972, 57, nos. 10-14; Malaise 1978, 645, no. 357; Lembke 1994, 193, nos. D 23-27.
58	Papyrus capital	As above.	As above.	?	As above.	-	As above.	As above.	As above.
59	Papyrus capital	As above.	As above.	?	As above.	-	As above.	As above.	As above.
60	Papyrus capital	As above.	As above.	?	As above.	-	As above.	As above.	As above.
61	Papyrus capital	As above.	As above.	?	As above.	-	As above.	As above.	As above.
62	Fragment of entablature	Left "in situ" as part of the foundation of the adjoining house in Via del Piè di Marmo.	Marble (?)	?	Via del Piè di Marmo	1923	The fragment features part of imperial dedicatory inscription mentioning Septimius Severus and Caracalla. This inscription was probably placed above the passage between the courtyard and the exedra. (Lembke 1994, 21; Ensoli 1998, 425)	Ca. AD 198-208 (?)	Mancini 1925, 239; Lembke 1994, 143, no. B 11, 193, no. D 28; Ensoli 1998, 425.
63	Fragment of entablature	West/Pronaos of the Pantheon	Marble	L. 2,02 m, H. 0,72 m, T. 0,58 m; H. (frieze) 0,31 m; H. (architrave) 0,42 m	Reused as step in the Porticus of the Pantheon.	1874	Corinthian entablature with reliefs on three sides. Left short side: Two falcons with double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt stand of either side of a caduceus. Front: Two lionesses drinking from a crater standing between them. A tree. Lioness drinking from a crater and then another tree. Back: A tree. Especially the falcons indicate Egyptian cult, while the caduceus allude to Hermes. The cornice might stem from an *aedicula* dedicated to the	Flavian (AD 80's)	Roullet 1972, 60, no. 28; Malaise 1972, 201-202, no. 381; Lembke 1994, 193195, no. D 29.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							syncretic Hermanubis within the Iseum or from the porticus north of the Exedra.		
64	Antefix	Vatican, MGE 22860	Marble	H. 0,25 m.	Dominican monastery (?) From the middle of the 17th century in the collection of A. Kircher.	1642 (?)	Two uraei with sun discs on their heads enclose a stylised atef-crown with an open lotus-flower and sun disc.	?	Roullet 1972, 55, no. 4; Malaise 1972, 86, no. 116; Lembke 1994, 195, no. D 30.
65	Egyptianising relief or stele	Unknown.	Marble.	H. 0,65 m.	Found during work beneath the house of Pietro Tranquilli in Via del Beato Angelico 23.	1856	A figure with *shendyt* and headdress (?) in the act of offering holding two bands or taeniae (a narrow fillet or headband for the hair) in his hands.	Roman Imperial Period	Henzen 1856, 182; Roullet 1972, 60, no. 26; Lembke 1994, 198, no. D 35.
66	Fragments of reliefs	Unknown.	Marble.	?	Area of the Collegio Romano	?	Described and drawn by Kircher (17th cent.): two lying snakes, one upright snake (uraeus), a snake in a circle = spurious hieroglyphs (?). Underneath a depiction of an antefix.	Roman Imperial Period	Roullet 1972, 61, no. 30; Lembke 1994, 198, no. D 36.
67	Fragment of relief	Deposito San Macuto, Camera dei Deputati	White marble	H. 0,20 m, W. 0,15 m, T. 0,06 m.	Cortile Grande, Dominican monastery, Piazza San Macuto	1991-1993	Fragment of relief with male profile (chin, mouth, nose)	1st-2nd century AD	Alfano 1998, 204; Alfano 1992, 11-21; *Cleopatra Roma* 2000, no. IV.48.
68	Fragment of relief	Deposito San Macuto, Camera dei Deputati	White marble	H. 0,30 m, W. 0,10 m, T. 0,09 m	Cortile Grande, Dominican monastery, Piazza San Macuto	1991-1993	Fragment of relief with hand holding sceptres	1st-2nd century AD	Alfano 1998, 204; Alfano 1992, 11-21; *Cleopatra Roma* 2000, no. IV.49.
69	Fragment of relief	Deposito San Macuto, Camera dei Deputati	White marble	H. 0,12 m, W. 0,16 m, T. 0,05 m.	Cortile Grande, Dominican monastery, Piazza San Macuto	1991-1993	Fragment of relief with foot	1st-2nd century AD	*Cleopatra Roma* 2000, no. IV.50.
70	Fragment of relief	Deposito San Macuto, Camera dei Deputati	White marble	H. 0,08 m, W. 0,10 m, T. 0,05 m.	Cortile Grande, Dominican monastery, Piazza San Macuto	1991-1993	Fragment of relief with head of falcon	1st-2nd century AD	*Cleopatra Roma* 2000, no. IV.51.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
71	Fragment of relief	Deposito San Macuto, Camera dei Deputati	White marble	H. 0,15 m, W. 0,42 m, T. 0,03 m.	Cortile Grande, Dominican monastery, Piazza San Macuto	1991-1993	Fragment of relief with (bird's) plumage/wings	1st-2nd century AD	Alfano 1998, 205-206; Alfano 1992, 11-21; *Cleopatra Roma* 2000, no. IV.52.
72	Fragment of antefix (?) with uraeus	Deposito San Macuto, Camera dei Deputati	White marble	H. 0,45 m, W. 0,23 m, T. 0,09 m.	Cortile Grande, Dominican monastery, Piazza San Macuto	1991-1993	Fragment of antefix (?) with uraeus. Similar to architectural frieze/ corner block with uraeus frieze in Berlin (inv. 16784).	1st-2nd century AD	Alfano 1998, 203; Alfano 1992, 11-21; *Cleopatra Roma* 2000 IV.41.
73	Fragment of antefix (?) with uraeus	Deposito San Macuto, Camera dei Deputati	White marble	H. 0,12 m, W. 0,10 m, T. 0,06 m.	Cortile Grande, Dominican monastery, Piazza San Macuto	1991-1993	Fragment of antefix (?) with uraeus. Similar to architectural frieze/corner block with uraeus frieze in Berlin (inv. 16784).	1st-2nd century AD	Alfano 1998, 202; Alfano 1992, 11-21; *Cleopatra Roma* 2000 IV.42.
OBELISKS									
74	Obeliscus Domitiani	Piazza Navona	Red granite.	H. 16,54 m	Via Appia, Circus of Maxentius	1647-1649		Domitianic (AD 81?)	Iversen 1968, 76-92; Roullet 1972, 72-73, no. 72; Lembke 1994, 210-212, no. D 55; Grenier 2009, 234-239; *RICIS* 501/0124.
75	Obeliscus Dogali	Viale delle Terme di Diocleziano	Red granite.	H. 6,34 m	Biblioteheca Casanatense, Via del Beato Angelico	1883		New Kingdom, Ramses II (1279-1213 BC)	Lanciani 1883a, 244; Schiaparelli 1883, 248-251; Iversen 1968, 174-177; Roullet 1972, 75-76, no. 76; Lembke 1994, 202, no. D 48.
76	Obeliscus Marcuteo	Piazza della Rotonda	Red granite.	H. 6,34 m	During construction of new apse of S. Maria sopra Minerva (?). Later by S. Macuto.	1374 (?)		New Kingdom, Ramses II (1279-1213 BC)	Iversen 1968, 101-105; Roullet 1972, 74-75, no. 74;

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
									Lembke 1994, 203, no. D 49.
77	Obeliscus Mediceo	Florence, Giardino di Boboli	Red granite.	H. 6,27 m	Behind S. Maria sopra Minerva/Via del Beato Angelico	Ca. 1550		New Kingdom, Ramses II (1279-1213 BC)	Roullet 1972, 75, no. 75; Lembke 1994, 204, no. D 50.
78	Obeliscus Capitolinus	Rome: Villa Celimontana / Urbino block B and E: Piazza Rinascimento / MGE, Magazzino inv. 52652 and 52653	Red granite.	H. (top) 2,68 m; reconstructed height ca. 4,5 m	Unknown. The top of the obelisk was on the Capitole from the 14th cent. The fragments in Urbino were given to Cardinal Albani in 1729 as a gift from the Jesuits and stem from the area of the Iseum Campense / Collegio Romano.	?		New Kingdom, Ramses II (1279-1213 BC)	Iversen 1968, 106-114; Roullet 1972, 73-74, 76, no. 73 & 77; Lembke 1992, 1320; Lembke 1994, 204-206, no. D 51; Lembke 1995, 514
79	Obeliscus Minerveo	Piazza della Minerva	Red granite.	H. 5,47 m	In the garden of the Dominican monastery	1665		Late Period, Apries (589-570 BC)	Iversen 1968, 93-100; Roullet 1972, 74-77, no. 78; Lembke 1994, 206-207, no. D 52.
80	Urbino block A+C	Urbino: Piazza Rinascimento	Red granite.	Reconstructed height ca. 6,0 m	Unknown. The fragments were given to Cardinal Albani in 1729 and stem from the area of the Iseum Campense/Collegio Romano/S. Macuto	?		Late Period, Apries (589-570 BC)	Iversen 1968, 106; Roullet 1972, 76, no. 77; Lembke 1992, 13-20; Lembke 1994, 208-209, no. D 53.
81	Fragments of obelisk in the Vatican	Vatican, MGE, Magazzino inv. 25057 and 25058	Red granite.	25057: H. 0,67 m, W. 0,40 m, D. 0,10 m. 25058: H. 1,34 m, W. 0,40 m, D. 0,115 m	? Reused as building material in S. Macuto	? 16th cent.		Late Period (Apries?)	Lembke 1994, 209-210, no. D 54; Lembke 1995, 5-14.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
82	Large fragment of obelisk	Doorstep, S. Andrea della Valle	Red granite.	L. 4,27 m, W. 1,38 m	Area of Via di S. Ignazio	? 16th cent.	No inscriptions are visible. Is it an obelisk (?)	?	Iversen 1968, 181-182; Roullet 1972, 77, no. 79; Lembke 1994, 213, no. D 56.
83	Small fragment of obelisk	Doorstep, entrance to Palazzo Giustiniani	Red granite.	L. 2,93-2,82 m, W. 0,60 m	Area of Via di S. Ignazio	? 17th cent.	Slightly tapering. No inscriptions are visible. Is it an obelisk (?)	?	Iversen 1968, 181-182; Roullet 1972, 77, no. 80; Lembke 1994, 213, no. D 57.
GRAECO-ROMAN									
84	Statue of reclining Nile.	Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti 2300.	Yellowish, coarse-grained marble.	H. 1,62 m, L. 3,10 m, W. 1,47 m.	Via del Piè di Marmo on the corner to the Via S. Stefano di Cacco. On display in the Vatican Belvedere garden. In 1796, it was taken to France and since returned to the Vatican in 1815.	1513		Domitianic (Lembke); Hadrianic (Malaise; Ensoli 1998, 424); Early 2nd cent. Trajan or Hadrian (Swetnam-Burland).	Malaise 1972, 194, no. 348; Lembke 1994, 214-216, no. E 1; Swetnam-Burland 2009, 439-457.
85	Statue of reclining Tiber.	Paris, Louvre MA 593.	Coarse-grained, yellowish marble with numerous blue veins.	H. 1,63 m; L. 3,17 m.	Via del Piè di Marmo on the corner to the Via S. Stefano di Cacco. On display in the Vatican Belvedere garden. In 1796, it was taken to France where it is on display in the Cour du Sphinx at the Louvre.	1512		Age og Domitian (Lembke); Hadrianic (Ensoli 1998, 424); Early 2nd cent. Trajan or Hadrian (Swetnam-Burland).	Malaise 1972, 194, no. 349; Lembke 1994, 216-217, no. E 2; Swetnam-Burland 2009, 439-457.
86	Statue of reclining Oceanus "Fabii".	Naples, MAN 5977.	Greek marble.	H. 1,94 m, L. 2,40 m.	Found in a basement by S. Maria sopra Minerva. It was in the collection of G.B. Fabio. It entered the Farnese collection ca. 1585/1593 and was	16th cent. (?)		Around AD 200 (Lembke; Ensoli 1998, 425); Flavian (Naples, MAN).	Malaise 1972, 194, no. 350; Lembke 1994, 217-218, no. E 3.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
					brought to Naples in 1786/1789.				
87	Statue of reclining Oceanus "Cesarini" (Mediterranean)	Naples, MAN 5976.	Greek marble.	H. 1,94 m, L. 2,52 m.	It was in the Farnese collection and because of its close resemblance to the Oceanus described above (5977) it is generally assumed that it stems from the Iseum Campense.	?		Around AD 200 (Lembke; Ensoli 1998, 425); 2nd cent. AD (Naples, MAN).	Lembke 1994, 218-219, no. E 4.
88	Statue of River.	Unknown	?	Unknown	Described by Poggio (1380-1459) as "prope porticum Minervae", i.e., near porticus Minerva	ca. 1440		?	Lembke 1994, 219, no. E 5.
89	Foot of a colossal statue (Serapis)	Rome, on the corner of Via S. Stefano del Cacco and Via del Piè di Marmo.	White marble.	Base: H. 0,70 m; L. 1,40 m. Foot: H. 0,50 m, L. 1,22 m.	Unknown. For long it was in the Via del Piè di Marmo and since 1878 in its present location.	?	The sandal type is a replica of the sandals worn by the cult statue in the Serapeum of Alexandria. (The *lingula* (a small, tongue-like structure) is notched twice in front of the toes). It most likely belonged to a colossal statue of Serapis and possibly a replica of the sitting original in Alexandria.	?	Malaise 1972, 194-195, no. 351; Lembke 1994, 219220, no. E 6.
90	Fragment of drapery	Unknown	Greek marble.	H. 0,78 m	Found during work in the house of Pietro Tranquilli in Via del Beato Angelico 23	1856	Lying on the marble floor	?	Lembke 1994, 220, no. E 7.
91	Hand	Unknown	Parian marble	?	During the renovation of the Dominican monastery	1642	"una mano di marmo pario superbissima"	?	Lembke 1994, 220, no. E 8.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
92	Upper half of a colossal female statue with Isis costume "Madama Lucrezia".	Rome, Piazza S. Marco.	White marble.	H. of the head 0,55 m, W. of breast 0,65 m.	Unknown. Since ca. 1465 in front of S. Marco. Because of its present location an origin in either the Iseum Campense or the Capitole seems plausible.	?	Fragment of a statue of a seated woman. She is clad in a tunic over which she wears a shawl, which is held together by a knot between her breasts. Possibly the cult statue from her temple on the Campus Martius (?) - or simply part of the sculptural decoration of the exedra (if the cult image was standing as suggested by the coins). Eingartner 1999, 23-24, however, questions this reconstruction suggesting that the fragment belongs to a standing colossal statue.	Late Hadrianic - Early Antonine period (AD 130-150)/Early 3rd century (Claridge 1998, 232) Ca. AD 200 (Ensoli 1998, 423; 2000, 276)	Malaise 1972, 202, no. 384; Lembke 1994, 220-221, no. E 9; Claridge 1998, 232; Ensoli 1998, 421-423.
93	Altar.	Rome, MC, Sala dei Culti Orientali 21 (inv. 1526)/Inscription: CIL VI 344. 30744.	Greek marble.	H. 0,87 m; W. and D. 0,51 m.	Found beneath the Biblioteca Casanatense/Via S. Ignazio 52.	1719	On the front inscription: (IS)IDI SACR(VM). Below the inscription, there is a *cista mystica* with moon-sickle and capitulum. On the lid lies a coiled snake. Left side: Naked Harpocrates with the right hand on his lips. He wears a cloth over his left shoulder and holds a cornucopia in his left arm. Right side: Standing anthropomorphic statue with head of a jackal, i.e., Anubis. He wears a *paenula* and winged shoes. He holds a *caduceus* in his right hand and a palm branch and a *situla* in his left hand. Back side: ceremonious instruments: urceus, patera, culter.	Ca. AD 150/Late Hadrianic - Early Antonine period.	Malaise 1972, 200, no. 373; Lembke 1994, 141, no. B 5 & 245, no. E 49; *RICIS* 501/0121.
94	Altars	Unknown. After the discovery in the house of Orazio Muti (?)	?	?	Beneath S. Stefano del Cacco	ca. 1590	Found together with columns in Giallo Antico. Following Vacca's description (1594), it seems that	?	Malaise 1972, 193, no. 343;

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							the altars were decorated with bucrania and garlands.		Lembke 1994, 245-246, no. E 50.
95	Candelabra base.	Rome, MC, Palazzo dei Conservatori 759	Greek marble/Pentelic?	H. 1,18 m, W. at the bottom 1,04 m, W. at the top 0,76 m.	Found during the excavation by Lanciani in the Via del Beato Angelico.	1883	Trilateral candelabra base. The bottom corners are decorated with winged Sileni, holding their belly. At the centre there is a kantharos, decorated with grapes, a Silenus is looking out over the vessel's edge. The fields between the corner Sileni and the kantharos are interspersed with acanthus decoration. The main picture fields have no reliefs, their decoration were probably made in metal.	Early Augustan 30-20 BC (?) / Second century AD	Jones 1926, 7, no. 4; Malaise 1972, 198, no. 367; Lembke 1994, 249-250, no. E 58.
96	Candelabra base.	Rome, MC, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 1304	White marble (Parian / Luna?)	H. 1,42 m	Found during the excavation by Lanciani in the Via del Beato Angelico.	1883	"È un prisma a sezione triangolare; contro le facce del quale si veggono scolpite d'alto rilievo di divinità, come Apollo citaredo, ed altre che non ho ancora ben riconosciute, per essere state in gran parte martellate." (Lanciani, NSc 1883, 244)	?	Lembke 1994, 250-251, no. E 59; Ensoli 1998, 424, n. 44, fig. 18.
97	Pinecone.	Vatican, Cortile della Pigna	Bronze	H. 3,40 m	? Since the 12th cent. Region IX was called "pigna" (Mirabilia urbis Romae); in the Vatican since the 8th cent. (Hadrian I, 772-795) (?), in its present location since 1608.	?	The pinecone originally functioned as a fountain.	1st-2nd cent. AD; Hadrian (Ensoli 1998, 424, n. 45)	Lembke 1994, 251, no. E 60; the relief-columns in the Vatican: Helbig 1963⁴ I, 420-422, no. 529; Forsén 1996, 17-18 (curative aspects)
COLUMNS									
98	Column	Unknown.	Granite.	H. 5,84 m, ø = 0,70 m.	Drawn by Peruzzi (1481-1536) near S.	?		?	Lembke 1994, 189, no. D 9.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
					Stefano del Cacco in the beginning of the 16th century.				
99	Column	Unknown. (Previously in the Antiquario Comunale 7659).	Grey granite.	H. 1 m, ø = 0,26 m	Via del Piè di Marmo	1957	The column (previously) in the Antiquario Comunale is most likely identical with a column described in the "Registro dei Trovamenti" although the measurement are slightly different.	?	Lembke 1994, 189, no. D 10.
100	Column	In situ	Granite.	?	Found during work beneath the house of Pietro Tranquilli in Via del Beato Angelico 23.	1856	Found lying on marble paving. Perhaps the upper plain part of one of the relief columns?	?	Lembke 1994, 190, no. D 11.
101	Column	Unknown	Granite.	H. 3,85 m, ø = 0,446 m.	Casa Silvestrelli, Via del Beato Angelico 19-21.	1853	The column tappers towards the base; broken in three pieces.	?	Lembke 1994, 190, no. D 12.
102	Fragments of columns	Below S. Stefano del Cacco.	Giallo Antico	?	S. Stefano del Cacco.	Ca. 1590-1594	Mentioned by F. Vacca.	?	Malaise 1972, 193, no. 343; Lembke 1994, 190, no. D 13.
103	Fragment of column	Unknown.	Cipollino.	?	Via del Piè di Marmo	1923		?	Mancini 1925, 239; Lembke 1994, 190, no. D 14.
104	Fragment of column	Unknown. (Previously in the Antiquario Comunale 7657).	Cipollino.	H. 1,80 m, ø = 0,44 m.	Via del Piè di Marmo	1957	The column (previously) in the Antiquario Comunale is most likely identical with the column described in the "Registro dei Trovamenti" although the measurement are different.	?	Lembke 1994, 190-191, no. D 15.
105	Fragment of column	Unknown.	Africano.	H. 1,70 m, ø = 0,85 m	Via del Piè di Marmo	1923		?	Mancini 1925, 239; Lembke

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
									1994, 191, no. D 16.
106	Fragment of column	Unknown. (Previously in the Antiquario Comunale 7709).	Grey marble (?) / marmo / granito bigio	H. 1,63 m, ø = 0,47 m	On the corner of Via del Piè di Marmo and S. Stefano del Cacco.	1957	The column (previously) in the Antiquario Comunale is most likely identical with the column described in the "Registro dei Trovamenti" although the measurement are slightly different.	?	Lembke 1994, 191, no. D 17.
107	Fragment of column	Unknown.	"Marble"	H. 1,10 m.	Via del Piè di Marmo	1957	This column has not been located in the Antiquario Comunale, where only three column fragments stem from the Via del Piè di Marmo (see above).	?	Lembke 1994, 191, no. D 18.
WALLS									
108	Remains of a wall (north- south)	In situ	Brick	?	Via del Piè di Marmo (near the corner to Via del Gesù)	1923	The orientation and fabric of the wall running north-south suggest that it was part of the sanctuary's western perimeter wall, i.e., the porticus Meleagri.	?	Gatti 1943/44, 156-157; Alfano 1992a, 11-21; Lembke 1994, 199, no. D 37.
109	Remains of a wall (east- west)	In situ	opus quadratum	?	Via del Piè di Marmo (near the corner to Via del Gesù)	1923	The wall running east-west was probably part of the courtyard's southern boundary wall, i.e., the wall, which separated the courtyard from the exedra towards the south.	?	Gatti 1943/44, 156-157; Alfano 1992a, 11-21; Lembke 1994, 199, no. D 38.
110	R1 (north-south)	In situ	Brick	L. 15,73 m, W. 2,44 m, H. 3,06-3,27 m.	During the renovation of the library of the Camera dei Deputati / Via del Seminario.	1991-1993	The fabric and location of this wall suggest that it formed part of the sanctuary's western perimeter wall.	Hadrianic (?)	Alfano 1992a, 17-18; 1998, 181-184; Lembke 1994, 199, no. D 39.
111	R2 (east-west)	In situ	Brick	L. 3,32 m, H. 2,72 m.	During the renovation of the library of the Camera dei Deputati / Via del Seminario.	1991-1993	The fabric and location of this wall suggest that it formed part of the sanctuary's northern perimeter wall.	Hadrianic (?)	Alfano 1992a, 17-18; 1998, 181-184; Lembke 1994, 199, no. D 40.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
112	R3 (north-south)	In situ	Brick	H. 2,5 m.	During the renovation of the library of the Camera dei Deputati / Via del Seminario.	1991-1993	Differences in materials (type of brick and mortar), construction method, and size clearly distinguish this wall from those of the perimeter wall.	“la prima e più antica fase costruttiva”	Alfano 1998, 190-192.
113	R4 (eastwards)	In situ	Brick	H. 2,5 m.	During the renovation of the library of the Camera dei Deputati / Via del Seminario.	1991-1993	Differences in materials (type of brick and mortar), construction method, and size clearly distinguish this wall from those of the perimeter wall.	“la prima e più antica fase costruttiva”	Alfano 1998, 190-192.
114	R5 (north-south)	In situ	Brick	L. 5,0 m, H. 2,0 m.	During the renovation of the library of the Camera dei Deputati / Via del Seminario.	1991-1993	Wall decorated with egyptianising relief slabs.	“posteriore a quelli dell’area II [i.e., the walls R3-R4]”	Alfano 1998, 192-193.
PAVING									
115	Part of a stair	In situ	Core of brick faced with white marble	?	Via del piè di Marmo 38, 4,55m from the corner to the Via del Gesù	1957	Five steps of a stair rising from West towards East. To the north, a wall faced with marble bound the stair. It was one of the passageways between the Saepta and the Iseum via the Porticus Meleagri. It was situated just south of the Giano accanto alla Minerva - one of the great entrance arches to the sanctuary.	?	Lembke 1994, 199-200, no. D 41.
116	Part of the paving of the courtyard	In situ	Travertine	Each slab ca. 0,50 m thick.	Along the Via del Piè di Marmo	1923	"...una robusta platea di travertino ... La platea costituiva la pavimentazione del grande piazzale dell'Iseo..." (Gatti, 1943/1944, 156)	?	Lembke 1994, 200, no. D 42.
117	Part of the paving of the courtyard	In situ	Travertine	T. 0,20 m, L. 0,80 m	Via del Piè di Marmo near the corner to Piazza del Collegio Romano	1957		?	Lembke 1994, 200, no. D 43.
118	Part of the paving of the northern area of the Iseum	In situ	?	?	Silvestrelli house, Via del Beato Angelico 19-21.	1853.	Lembke describes this structure as "Erhöhte Plattform" vs. Canina 1852, 351 (and Ensoli 1998, 419) who interprets the	?	Lembke 1994, 200, no. D 44.

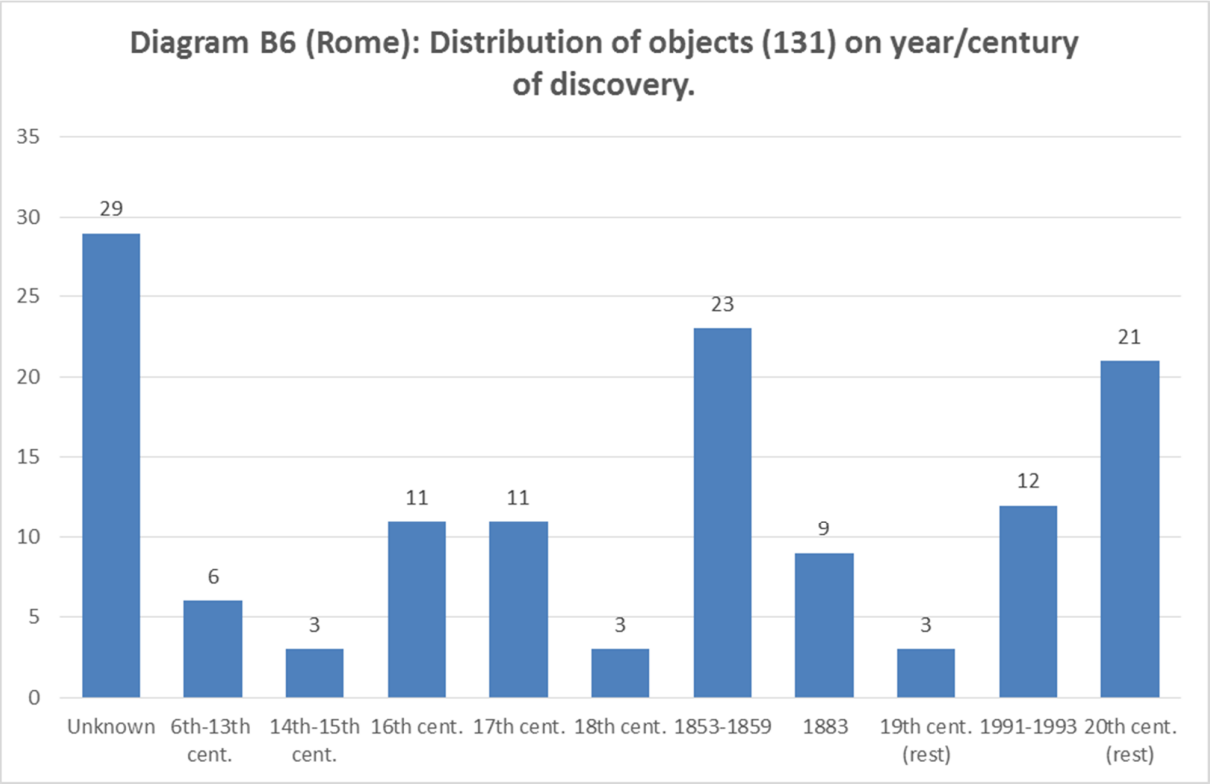
No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							structure as as 'la fronte del tempio' / temple podium.		
119	Part of the paving of the northern area of the Iseum	In situ	Marble or travertine	?	During renovation work in the Tranquilli house, Via del Beato Angelico 23.	1856	"Fragment of pavement with Egyptian figures and hieroglyphs." The slab was probably reused as part of the paving because the reliefs were facing down. To one side, a wide canal of marble or travertine bounded the paving.	?	Roullet 1972, 62, no. 34; Malaise 1972, 196, no. 358; Lembke 1994, 201, no. D 45.
120	Part of the paving of the northern area of the Iseum	Unknown. (Once in the Dominican monastery)	Marble.	?	During the renovation of the Dominican monastery	1642	"…a pavement of stone carved with Egyptian figures and hieroglyphs…" Some of the decoration consisted of lotus and papyrus flowers. The slab was probably reused as part of the paving because the reliefs are described as facing down.	?	Roullet 1972, 59-61, nos. 25 and 31; Malaise 1972, 200, no. 374; Lembke 1994, 201, no. D 46.
121	Fragment of the paving (?)	Unknown.	Egyptian granite, marble	T. 0,05 m.	Via dei Pastini / Piazza della Rotonda in the foundation of a wall built of "spolia".	1871-1872	Several, damaged and broken granite and marble slabs.	?	Roullet 1972, 61, no. 32; Malaise 1972, 201, no. 380; Lembke 1994, 201, no. D 47.
ARCHES									
122	Arco di Camilliano	Three piers still in situ built into the house in Via del Piè di Marmo 24a.	Travertine	W. 19,30 m, W. of piers 2,10 m, Depth 5,00 m; W. central passage 5,50 m; W. side passage ways 2,90 m (W. of passage between northern piers 2,40 m?)	Via del Piè di Marmo	-	Eastern entrance arch. The arch had three passage ways and rested on six piers. The outer two piers bridged the entire depth of the arch, while the inner piers were interrupted, i.e., two on each side of the central passage way. The entablature seems to have featured a weapon frieze (see above/drawings). It is often identified with the "Arcus ad Isis" - a triumphal arch depicted on a relief in the Haterii tomb.	Flavian	Gatti 1943-1944, 124-137; Malaise 1972, 188-193, no. 342; Roullet 1972, 26; Lembke 1994, 184-185, no. 2.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							Maybe erected to commemorate the Judaean triumph (?). In 1595-1597, the central passage way was destroyed; in 1852 and 1969 discovery of detached travertine pilasters; in 1980-1981 excavation by E. Gatti.		
122a	Inscription from Arco di Camilliano	Unknown	?	?	Drawn by Peruzzi (1481-1536) in the beginning of the 16th century.	?	"…VX TENCT …"	Domitianic	Lembke 1994, 140, no. B 2.
123	Giano accanto alla Minerva	Ruined beneath the house in Via del Piè di Marmo 46	Core: brick; foundations and plinth: travertine; capitals and bases: marble; columns: cipollino.	W. 26,24 m, Depth 21,34 m; H. central passage way 21 m, W. 11,06; W. side passage ways 3,57 m; W. of piers 2 m, Depth 5,14 m.	Via del Piè di Marmo	-	Western entrance arch. The arch had one central and two smaller lateral archways. It rested on eight piers and was accessible from four sides. The architectural order appear to have been Corinthian. It was not conceived as a triumphal arch, but functioned as an entrance arch to the Iseum (East-West) and a passage through the Porticus Meleagri (North-South). The general structure of the arch can be compared to the arch of Septimius-Severus (although this was only accessible from two sides). Ground plan drawn by Sangallo (Jr.) in 1515; rediscovered in 1872/1873 during the demolition of Convent of SS. Annunziata and subsequently destroyed.	Hadrianic (after AD 123) / Severan restoration.	Malaise 1972, 192; Roullet 1972, 26; Lembke 1994, 183-184, no. 1.
123a	Inscription from "Giano accanto alla Minerva"	Unknown/Inscription: CIL VI^4 31464.	?	?	During the destruction of the monastery of SS. Annunziata.	1872-1873	"…(A)VGG …:….M….." (The lettering indicate a double principate. This form of government occurred for the	AD 198-208 (?)	Lembke 1994, 71, 143, no. B 12.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							first time under Marcus Aurelius/Lucius Verus and the tradition continued under Septimius Severus/Caracalla).		
INSCRIPTIONS									
124	Altar.	Rome, MC, Sala del Fauno IV 10/Inscription: CIL VI 346	?	?	Area of the Pantheon, since 1716 in the Albani collection, then in the Museo Capitolino.	?	Dedication by the slave Crescens to ISIDI SACR(VM) mentioning CAESARIS VESPASIANI. Crescens was probably one of Titus' slaves while Vespasian was emperor.	AD 71-79 (?)	Malaise 1972, 114, no. 7, 208, no. 389; Lembke 1994, 140, no. B 1; *RICIS* 501/0116.
125	Inscription on Pomerium border stone.	Via S. Stefano del Cacco 26, Floor of the Benedict monastery/Inscription: CIL VI 31539b)	?	?	Found in the foundations of the monastery of S. Stefano	1732-1735		Hadrianic (AD 121)	Lembke 1994, 140-141, no. B 3.
126	Altar.	Unknown/Inscription: IG XIV 961.	?	?	Between the Arco di Camilliano and S. Stefano del Cacco.	16th cent.	Dedication to Antinous "synthronos".	AD 130-138.	Malaise 1972, 134, no. 75, 195 no. 353; Lembke 1994, 141, no. B 4; *RICIS* 501/0117.
127	Inscription: IG XIV 1084.	Unknown.	?	?	By S. Maria in Via Lata.	?	An inscription of the Paeanists (the cult choir), recording the honouring of their prophet Embes on 6 May 146. It was found not far from the Divorum and the Iseum Campense at Santa Maria in Via Lata. Moretti assigned the Paeanists to the cult of the Iseum Campense, but their name also points to their connection with the cult of the divine Flavians (THEON SEBASTON) at the Divorum.	AD 6th May 146.	Malaise 1972a, 137, no. 88, 195 no. 355 & 212; Lembke 1994, 141-142, no. B 7; *RICIS* 501/0118; Luke 2010, 94.
128	Inscription: CIL VI 8440 /IG XIV 1039.	Unknown.	?	?	Via Piè di Marmo/S. Stefano del Cacco	?	Dedication (in Greek) by Egatheus, imperial overseer. The inscription does not mention Isis or any other of her fellow deities, but because of	AD 162 (?) He is mentioned in a letter from Fronto to Marcus Aurelius.	Lembke 1994, 143, no. B 9; *RICIS* 501/0119.

No.	Object ID	Mus. inv. no.	Material	Height	Place of discovery	Year	Description	Date	Reference
							the place of discovery, it seems likely that the dedication was put up in the Iseum.		
129	Dedicatory inscription (in Greek) on column	Unknown. In the house of the Delfin(i)o "in Piscaria" family / Inscription: IG XIV 1031.	?	?	In S. Stefano "in columna".	?	To Serapis as universal Sun god.	2nd-3rd cent. AD.	Malaise 1972, 136, no. 86, 193 no. 346; Lembke 1994, 143, no. B 10; Ensoli 1998, 425-427; *RICIS* 501/0120.
130	Fragment of tablet.	Unknown/Inscription CIL VI 29844 and 36619	?	?	? The temple of Sacra Urbs erected by Vespasian (?).	?	Formerly applied to the posterior wall of the temple of *Sacra Urbs* erected by Vespasian. "Serapeu(m)"	?	Malaise 1972, 129, no. 58; *RICIS* 501/0115.
131	Inscription on chest of a sphinx	Unknown/Inscription IG XIV 1029.	?	?	"Romae in pectore Sphygis e marmore Thebaico" /S. Stefano del Cacco (?)	?	The connection between a sphinx and an inscription in Greek is unusual. Most likely, it is a Roman copy of an Egyptian original - like the baboons in the Vatican & MC 2937, which also have Greek inscriptions.	Roman Imperial Period	Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 39, no. 6; Lembke 1994, 144, no. B 13; *RICIS* 501/0153

Diagrams B6-B9



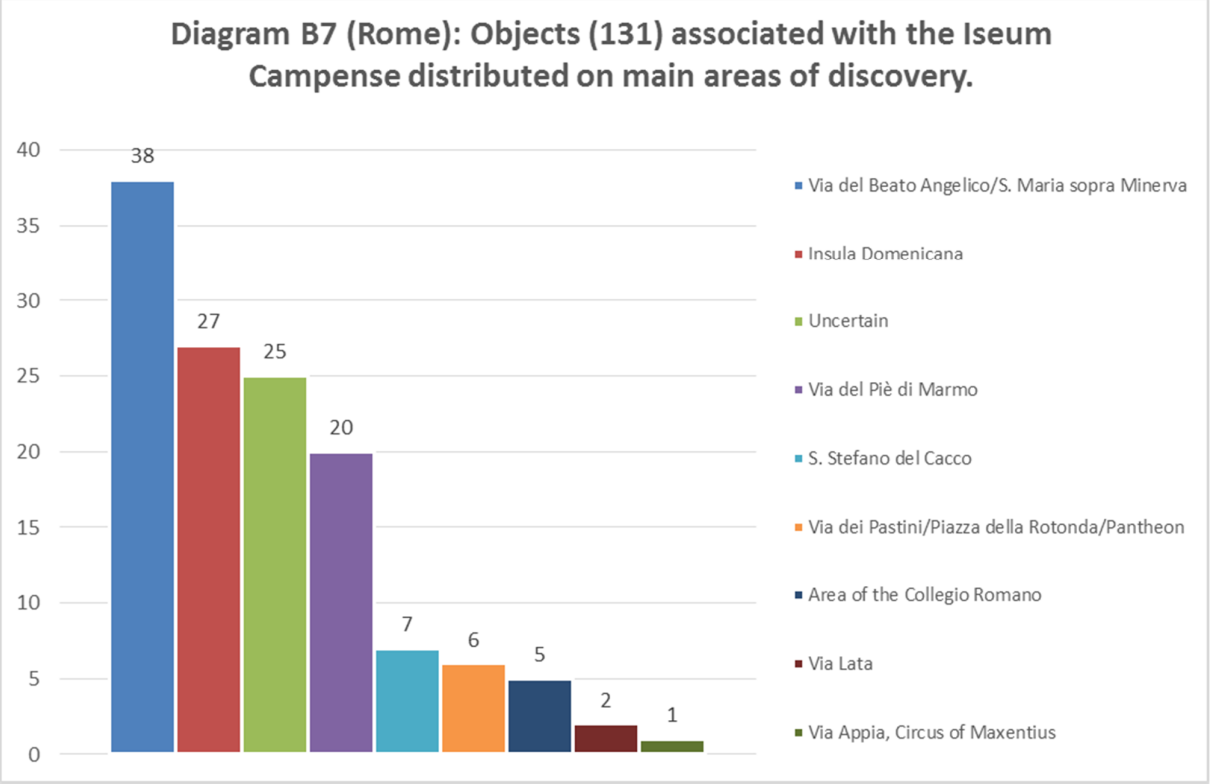


Diagram B8a (Rome): Overall chronological distribution of objects (131) associated with the Iseum.

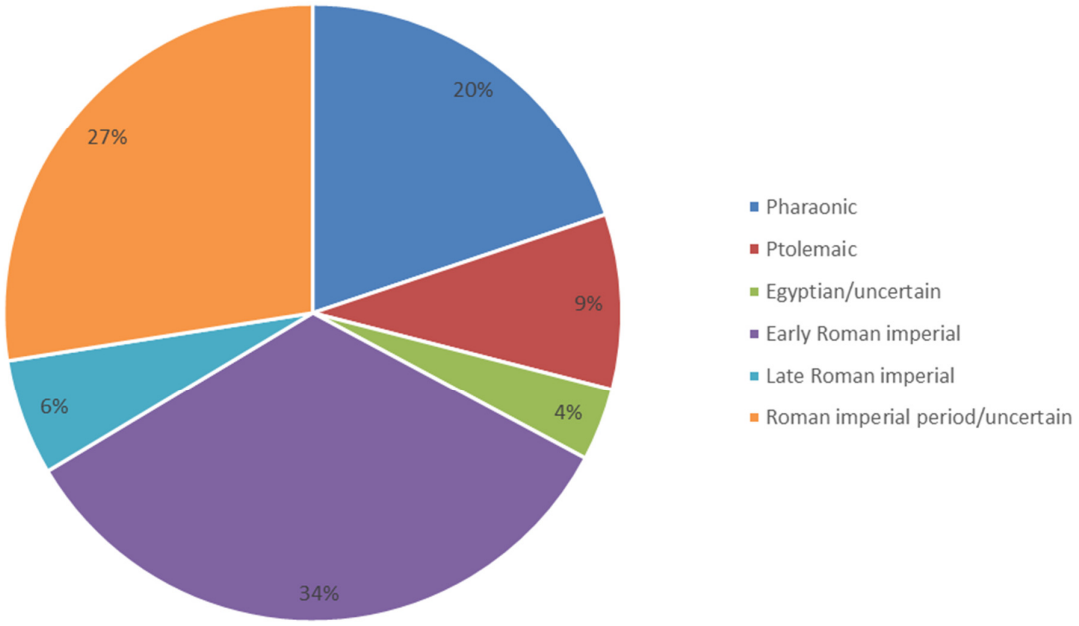
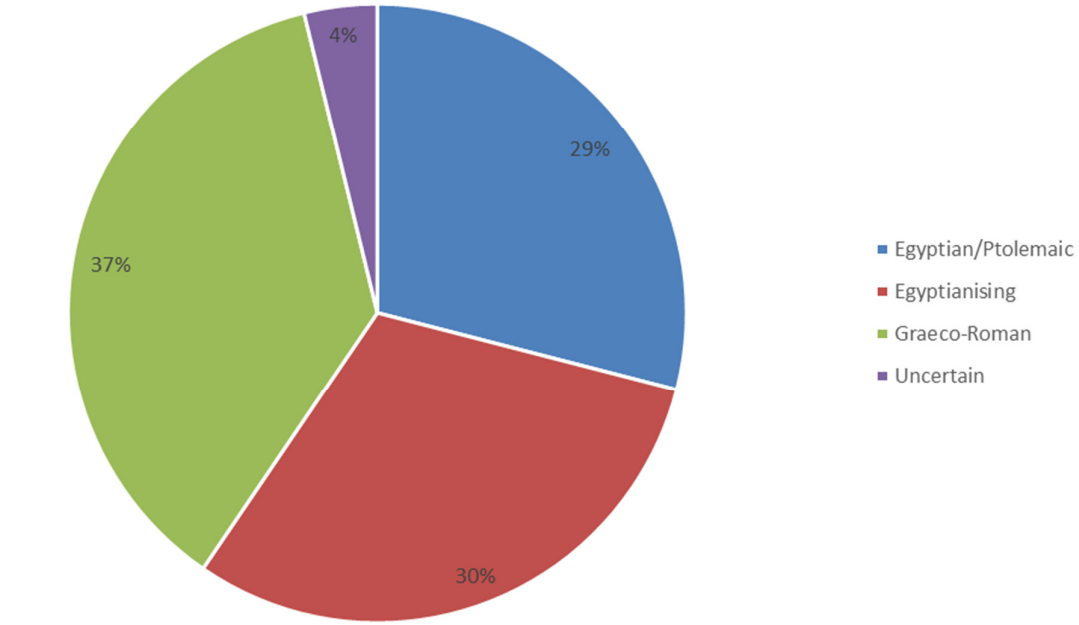


Diagram B8b (Rome): Overall 'stylistic' distribution of objects (131) associated with the Iseum.



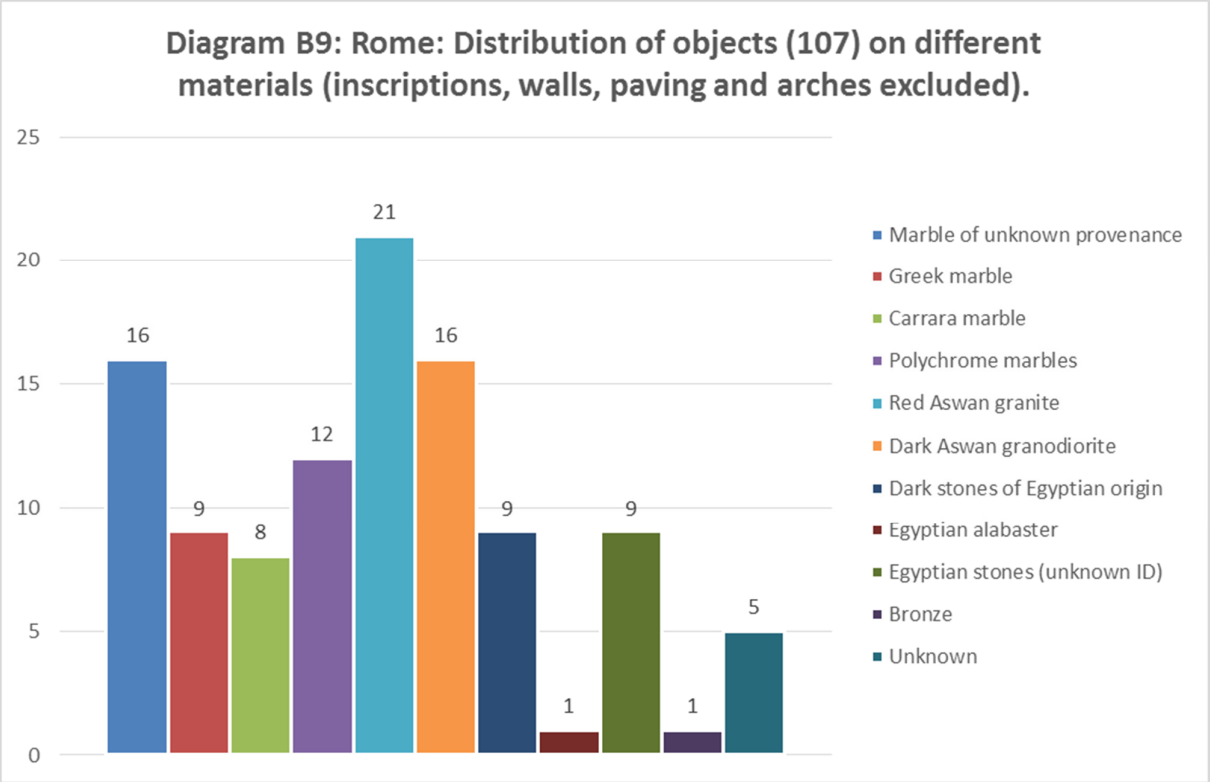


Diagram B9: Rome: Distribution of objects (107) on different materials (inscriptions, walls, paving and arches excluded).
25
20
15
10
5
0
16
9
8
12
21
16
9
1
9
1
5
Marble of unknown provenance
Greek marble
Carrara marble
Polychrome marbles
Red Aswan granite
Dark Aswan granodiorite
Dark stones of Egyptian origin
Egyptian alabaster
Egyptian stones (unknown ID)
Bronze
Unknown

C. *Gens Flavia … restituit* – the Flavian building programme in Rome

LIST OF FLAVIAN BUILDINGS IN ROME (NOT EXHAUSTIVE)

The list illustrates the material and visual transformation of the Roman cityscape and contextualises the 'Egyptian' element in the vast Flavian building programme. When the Flavians assumed power in AD 69, Rome was still marked by the devastating fire of AD 64 as well as by the effects of the Civil war of AD 69. Moreover, in AD 80, during the reign of Titus another major fire swept through the Campus Martius and the Capitoline areas. Some of the buildings were paid for *ex manubiis*, from the spoils of the war in Judaea. The list is based on the comprehensive list of Jones 1992, 79-98, supplemented with the overview provided by Coarelli 2009, 68-97.

No.	Monuments 'ex novo'	Area of Rome	Emperor
1	The Flavian Amphitheatre	Colosseum valley	Vespasian/Titus/Domitian
2	Temple of Peace/'Forum of Vespasian'	Imperial Fora	Vespasian
3	Triumphal arch to Titus	Circus Maximus	SPQR/Titus
4	Thermae Titi	Esquiline Hill	Titus
5	(Triumphal) Arch to *divus* Titus	Forum Romanum/Velia	SPQR/Domitian
6	Triumphal arch to Vespasian/Titus (Arco di Camigliano)	Campus Martius	SPQR/Vespasian/Domitian
7	Iseum Campense	Campus Martius	Vespasian (?)/Domitian
8	Templum *divus (i)* Vespasianus (i)	Forum Romanum	Titus/Domitian
9	Equus domitiani	Forum Romanum	Domitian
10	Arch of Domitian/ 'gateway' to the Domus Flavia	clivus Palatinus	Domitian
11	Domus Flavia/Domus Augustana	Palatine Hill	Domitian
12	Aedes Caesarum (templum Divorum)/House of Livia and Augustus	Palatine Hill (?)	Domitian
13	Templum gentis Flaviae	Quirinal Hill	Domitian
14	Templum (aedes)Divorum	Campus Martius	Domitian
15	Stadium/*Circus Agonalis*	Campus Martius	Domitian
16	Odeon	Campus Martius	Domitian
17	Porticus Minucia Frumentaria/ Largo Argentina	Campus Martius	Domitian
18	Temple of Minerva Chalcidica	Campus Martius	Domitian
19	Forum Nervae/Forum Transitorium	Imperial Fora	Domitian
20	Templum, Ianus Quadrifrons/Forum Transitorium	Imperial Fora	Domitian
21	Horrea Piperataria	Forum Romanum (?)	Domitian
22	Horrea Vespasiani (?)	?	Domitian
23	Ludi (gladiatorial schools)	Colosseum valley	Domitian
24	Meta Sudans/fountain	Colosseum valley	Domitian
25	Templum, Fortuna Redux	Campus Martius	Domitian
26	Templum, Iuppiter Custos	Capitoline Hill	Domitian
No.	**Restorations**		**Emperor**
1	Enlargement of the *pomerium*		Vespasian
2	Iseum/Regio III	Esquiline Hill	Flavian
3	Solarium Augusti	Campus Martius	Flavian

4	Temple of Jupiter	Capitoline Hill	Vespasian/Domitian
5	Templum Divus Claudius	Caelian Hill	Vespasian
6	Porticus Minucia Vetus/Largo Argentina	Campus Martius	Domitian
7	Curia Julia	Forum Romanum	Domitian
8	Arcus Neroniana/ aqueduct	Caelian and Palatine Hills	Domitian
9	Library of Augustus/Temple of Apollo	Palatine Hill	Domitian
10	Library/Templum Novum/Divi Augusti	Behind the Basilica Iulia; between the Capitoline and the Palatine hills (?)	Domitian
11	Templum Novum /Divi Augusti	Behind the Basilica Iulia; between the Capitoline and the Palatine hills (?)	Domitian
12	Atrium Minervae/Athenaeum (school of grammar and rhetoric)	Santa Maria Antiqua (?)(Forum Romanum)	Domitian
13	Templum, Castorum	Forum Romanum	Domitian
14	Domus Tiberiana	Palatine Hill	Domitian
15	Casa Romuli	Palatine Hill	Domitian
16	Circus Maximus	The valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills.	Domitian
17	Forum of Caesar	Imperial Fora	Domitian
18	Pantheon (?)	Campus Martius	Domitian
19	Porticus of the Dei Consentes/'Harmonious Gods'	area of San Clemente	Domitian
20	Atrium septem (so-called 'Porticus of the Dei Consentes')	Forum Romanum (?)	Domitian
21	Library/Porticus Octaviae (?)	Campus Martius	Domitian
22	Saepta Iulia	Campus Martius	Domitian
23	Temple of Veiovis	Capitoline Hill	Domitian
24	Thermae Agrippae	Campus Martius	Domitian
25	Theatre of Balbus	Campus Martius	Domitian
No.	**Possible – but uncertain – Flavian restorations**		**Emperor**
1	Temple of Jupiter Stator	clivus Palatinus/beyond the arch of Titus	Domitian

D. *Pacis opera* – the artworks of Peace

THE ART WORKS DISPLAYED IN THE TEMPLUM PACIS

The *Templum Pacis* was dedicated by Vespasian in AD 75; destroyed by fire under Commodus in AD 192 and restored under Septimius Severus in AD 208 to 211.

Sculptures	Artist	Date	Material	Dedicated by	Source
Venus	?	?	?	Vespasian	Pliny (*HN* 36.27)
Nile with 16 children	?	Ptolemaic/Flavian	Greywacke	Vespasian	Pliny (*HN* 36.58)
Ganymedes with the eagle	Leochares of Athens (?)	4th cent. BC	Bronze	Nero/Vespasian	Pliny (*HN* 34.79) / Juv. IX, 22-23
Cheimon (Olympic winner in wrestling 448 BC)	Naukydes of Argos	4th cent. BC	Bronze (?)	Vespasian	Paus. VI,9,3
The battles of Attalus and Eumenes against the Gauls	Isiginus (Epigonos), Pyromachus, Stratonicus and Antigonus	End of 3rd cent. BC	Bronze (?)	Vespasian	Pliny (*HN* 34.84)
Heifer	Myron of Athens	5th cent. BC	Bronze	Vespasian	Procop. *Goth*. VIII, 21, 12-13
Statue base / Hermes (?)	Praxiteles of Athens	4th cent. BC	?	Vespasian	Excavations (1988-2001)
Statue base	Kephisodos of Athens	4th cent. BC	?	Vespasian	Excavations (1988-2001)
Statue base	Parthenokles of Athens	3rd cent. BC	Bronze (?)	Vespasian	Excavations (1988-2001)
Statue base / Pythocles of Elis Base (re)erected *post* AD 192	Polykleitos (?)	5th cent. BC	?	Nero/Vespasian	Paus. VI,7,10 / Excavations (1891)
Statuebase / Ganymedes Base (re)erected *post* AD 192	Leochares of Athens	4th cent. BC			Excavations (16th cent.)
Head of lioness (protome) (SAR inv. 5191099)		2nd-3rd cent. AD	Luna-marble	H. 17,5 cm.	Excavations ('aula di culto', 2005)
Female head *capite velato* (SAR inv. 519100)		Julio-Claudian	Luna-marble	H. 25 cm.	Excavations ('aula di culto', 2005)
Head of Eros (SAR inv. 519101)		1st - beginning of 2nd cent. AD	Luna-marble	H. 9,7 cm.	Excavations ('aula di culto', 2005)
Paintings					
Battle of Issus (333 BC)	Helena of Egypt	4th cent. BC		Vespasian	Phot. Bibl. Cod. 190
Hero	Timanthes	4th cent. BC		Vespasian	Pliny (*HN* 35.74)
Ialyssos (Rhodian hero)	Protogenes (Caria/Rhodes)	4th cent. BC		Vespasian	Pliny (*HN* 35.102)
Scylla	Nikomachos of Thebes	4th cent. BC		Vespasian	Pliny (*HN* 35.109)
Spoils from the Temple in Jerusalem					
The Menorah				Vespasian	Joseph *BJ* 7.158-162
The table of showbread				Vespasian	Joseph *BJ* 7.158-162
Silver horns (Rosh Hashanah)			Silver	Vespasian	Joseph *BJ* 7.158-162
Other					
Chaplets of cinnamon surrounded with embosses gold (*Coronas ex cinnamo interrasili auro*)				Vespasian	Pliny (*HN* 12.94)

E. Statues of dancing and striding women

1. STATUES OF DANCING AND STRIDING WOMEN – THE '*DANZATRICE*'-TYPE (bichrome technique)

Hellenistic prototype of Asia Minor (?) of the 2nd century BC adapting elements of different sculptures of the Classical period → the 'Aphrodite Louvre-Naples – type' and → the Nike of Paionios (425 - 421 BC) → the Nikai on the parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike (c. 410 BC) → the Nike of Samothrace (2nd century BC).

Location	Provenance	Height	Date	Material	Reference
Antalya, Arch. Mus., inv. 10.29.81	Perge, South Baths, stoa of Claudius Piso (room 4)	2,38 m	Hadrianic period	'nero antico'	Gregarek 1999, D134; Rausa 1997, 44; Schneider 2002, 96; Zevi 2002, 303.
Rome, MC, Centrale Montemartini, inv. 2845	Rome, Celio, Vigna Casali	1,98 m	Antonine period	'bigio antico'	Gregarek 1999, D135; Lauro 1978, 207; Rausa 1997, 45; Schneider 2002, 96; Agnoli 2002, 39-40, no. 149.
Rome, Ant. Comunale (?)	Rome, Celio, Vigna Casali	?	?	'marmo bigio/nero'	Rausa 1997, 45; Agnoli 2002, 39-40, no. 149.
Munich, Glyptothek, inv. GL 449	Rome? (acquired in Naples via Frediani in 1823)	1,50 m	Second half of 2nd cent. AD	'nero antico'	Bieber 1977, 47, fig. 157; Rausa 1997, 45; Gregarek 1999, D136; Schneider 2002, 96; Agnoli 2002, 39-40, no. 149.
Benevento, MdS, inv. 493	Benevento	1,08 m	Second half of 2nd cent. AD	'basalt' / 'granito bigio' / 'calcare grigio' / 'marmo bigio'	Gregarek 1999, D139; Lauro 1978, 207; Rausa 1997, 45; Schneider 2002, 96; Agnoli 2002, 39-40, no. 149.
Cairo, Mus. De la Civilisation Égyptienne, inv. 27625	Benha, Sebakh	1,80 m (restored H. ca. 2,20 m)	Second half of 2nd cent. AD	'nero antico'	Edgar 1903, 16, no. 27635, pl. 8; Gregarek 1999, D137; Rausa 1997, 45; Schneider 2002, 96; Agnoli 2002, 39-40, no. 149.
Tunis, Mus. Du Bardo, inv. C. 1026	Thysdrus (El Djem), West Baths	0,83 m	Antonine period	'nero antico'	Manderscheid 1981, 110, no. 348, taf. 43; Gregarek 1999, D138; Rausa 1997, 45; Schneider 2002, 96; Agnoli 2002, 39-40, no. 149.
Magnesia on the Maeander (Turkey)	?	?	?	'marmo scuro'	Gregarek 1999, 90, no. 297; Schneider 2002, 96.
Rome, Villa Albani (fragment of the hip of a moving woman walled up at the base of the Caffé; eastern part of the garden area)	?	0,50 m	Flavian / early Hadrianic	'bigio morato' / 'nero antico' or 'bardiglio' (Carrara)	Linfert 1998, 386-388, tav. 170 (no. 906) and 171); Schneider 2002, 96.
Caserta, Giardino Inglese	Rome, near the temple of Minerva Medica, Esquiline	ca. 2,0 m	? 2nd cent. AD	'marmo bigio'	Rausa 1997, 44-48; Agnoli 2002, 39-40, no. 149.

2. STATUES OF ISIS PELAGIA, ISIS-FORTUNA, 'ISIS À LA VOILE' IN DIFFERENT MATERIALS

Location	Provenance	Height	Date	Material	Reference
Ostia, Museo Ostiense, inv. 18141 (bichrome technique)	Public building near the Fossa Traianea, Isola Sacra / Temple of Isis (?)	2,09 m	Mid-late 2nd cent. AD	'marmo bigio'/'bigo morato'	Bruneau 1974, 370-372; Lauro 1978, 208; Gregarek 1999, C30; Agnoli 2002, 39; Zevi 2002, 303-304; Bricault 2006, 90-91.
Pozzuoli, Anfiteatro Flavio, inv. 153644 (bichrome technique)	Pozzuoli, stretch of sea in front of the Rione Terra	1,95 m	Mid 2ndcent. / beginning of 3rd cent. AD	'marmo bigio morato'	Adamo Muscettola 1998, 547-558; Agnoli 2002, 39; Nuzzo 2006, 79; Bricault 2006, 91.
Palestrina, MAN, inv. 1491 (bichrome technique)	Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia 'tra le ruine del delubro inferiore'	Restored H. ca. 2,4 m	Late 2nd cent. BC	'marmo bigio'/'bigo antico'	Lauro 1978, 199-213; Coarelli 1994, 124; Gregarek 1999, C29; Agnoli 2002, 31-40.
Mariemont, Mus. de Mariemont, inv. B 165	?	0,55 m	Antonine period	White marble	Bruneau 1974, 359-361; Bricault 2006, 87-88.
Budapest, Mus. Des Beaux Arts, inv. 3934	Villa di Posillipo, Naples	1,45 m	3rd cent. AD	White marble	Tran tam Tinh 1972, 67-68; Bruneau 1974, 361-365; Bricault 2006, 88-89 ; Longobardo 2006, 147.
Benevento, MdS, inv. 1917	Benevento, Lombard city wall	0,47m, L. 1,02m	1st century BC (?)	Parian marble (?)	Müller 1969, 83-85; Bruneau 1974, 365-370; Bricault 2006, 89-90.
Messene, Arch. Mus. Ancient Messene	Theatre of Messene	H. 1,699m	2nd century AD	White marble	Petrakos 2002, 28-29; Themelis 2002, 27-28; Burkhalter and Philippa-Touchais 2003, 801; Bricault 2006, 92.

3. STATUES OF MAENADS, NYMPHS AND *AURAE* RELATED TO THE '*DANZATRICE*'-TYPE (bichrome technique)

Hellenistic prototype of Asia Minor (?) of the 2nd century BC adapting elements of a sculpture of the Classical period → 'Aphrodite Louvre-Naples– type'.

Location	Provenance	Height	Date	Material	Reference
Sessa Aurunca, Castelo Ducale, inv. 297048	Sessa Aurunca, Theatre	2,02 m (incl. base ca. 2,4 m)	First half of 2nd cent. AD	'marmo bigio morato'	Ruggi D'Aragona 2002, 325-326, no. 23; Zevi and Valeri 2004, 128-133.
Palermo, Mus. Arch. Reg. 'A. Salinas', inv. 5615	Rome, Baths of Caracalla	2,12 m	Flavian/Severan period	'bigio morato'	Marvin 1983, 371-372, Pl. 52, figs. 23-24; Gregarek 1999, D130; Lauro 1978, 207; Merra 2002, 299-301; Agnoli 2002, 39-40, no. 149; Zevi 2002, 303.
Naples, MAN, inv. G 685	Rome, Baths of Caracalla	1,67 m	Severan period	'bigio morato'	Marvin 1983, 369-371, Pl. 52, figs. 21-22; Gregarek 1999, D131; Lauro 1978, 207; Agnoli 2002, 39-40, no. 149; Zevi 2002, 303.
Rome, Baths of Caracalla, Mag.	Rome, Baths of Caracalla	Over life-size	Severan period	'bigio morato'	Gregarek 1999, D132; Zevi 2002, 303.
Tigani, Mus. of Tigani, Samos	Roman Baths	?	?	'marmo scuro'	Lauro 1978, 208; Agnoli 2002, 39-40. no. 149.
Rome, Palazzo Torlonia-Giraud (Via della Conciliazione)	Rome, Via Appia, 'Nymphaeum' (baths?) of the Villa of the Quintilii	2,04 m (with plinth ca. 2,15 m)	2nd cent. AD	'bigio morato'	Schädler 1998, 53-54, 100, no. 48; Zevi 2002, 303.
Rome, Palazzo Torlonia-Giraud (Via della Conciliazione)	Rome, Via Appia, 'Nymphaeum' (baths?) of the Villa of the Quintilii	2,04 m (with plinth ca. 2,15 m)	2nd cent. AD	'bigio morato'	Schädler 1998, 53-54, 100-101, no. 49; Zevi 2002, 303.
Dresden, Staatl. Kunstslg. Albertinum, Hermann-Verzeichnis 252	? (Previously in the Chigi collection)	1,49 m	2nd cent. AD	Bigio antico (drapery)	Becker 1808, 17-18, Taf. 43; Gregarek 1999, D164.
Munich, Glyptothek, inv. GL 459	?	0,76 m	2nd cent. AD	Nero antico (drapery)	Gregarek 1999, D165.

4. OTHER STATUES OF ISIS COMBINING MARMO BIGIO AND WHITE MARBLES

These statues are usually identifiable because of the knotted costume and/or the so-called cork screw locks (Apul. *Met.* 11.3). The 'Knotted costume – type' → based on an Athenian prototype of the late Hellenistic period; the 'Diplax – type' → based on a Roman prototype of the early imperial period (Eingartner 1991, 10-48). For other statues, heads and busts of Isis in coloured stones see Gregarek 1999, nos. C6-C11, C14, C21, C23, C26-C28, C31-C34, C36-C43.

Location	Provenance	Height	Date	Material	Reference
Naples, MAN, inv. 6372 'Knotted costume – type'	Naples	1,56 m	Second half of 2nd cent. AD (AD 160-170)	'marmo bigio morato'	Tran tam Tinh 1972, 63-65; Gregarek 1999, C13; *Egittomania* 2006, 148, II.106
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 1-158 'Knotted costume – type'	Naples or area of Naples	1,30 m	First half of 2nd cent. AD (AD 130-140)	'marmo bigio morato'	Tran tam Tinh 1972, 65-66; Gregarek 1999, C12; *Egittomania* 2006, 149, II.107
Rome, Mus. Torlonia, inv. 180 'Knotted costume – type'	Rome	1,52 m	AD 160-180	'bigio morato'	Gregarek 1999, C15; Eingartner 1991, no. 21
Rome, Mus. Torlonia, inv. 31 'Knotted costume – type'	?	2,00 m	ca. AD 250	'bigio morato'	Gregarek 1999, C16; Eingartner 1991, no. 38
Naples, MAN, inv. 6370 'Knotted costume – type'	?	2,00 m	Mid 2nd cent. AD	'bigio antico'	Gregarek 1999, C19; Eingartner 1991, no. 90
Toulouse, Mus. Saint-Raymond, inv. 30307 'Knotted costume – type'	Chiragan, Villa Matres-Tolosanes	1,85 m	AD 180-200	'bigio antico'	Cazes 1999, 100; Gregarek 1999, C20; Eingartner 1991, no. 91
Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus., inv. 843 'Diplax – type'	Thessaloniki, Serapeum	1,56 m	AD 80-100	'bigio antico'	Gregarek 1999, C22; Eingartner 1991, no. 93
Rome, Galleria Borghese, inv. CCIX	?	1,57 m	Antonine period, AD 160-180	'nero antico'	Gregarek 1999, C24; Moreno and Stefani 2000, 176.
Rome, Mus. Torlonia, inv. 32	?	2,00 m	2nd cent. AD	'bigio morato'	Gregarek 1999, C25
Copenhagen, NCG, inv. 1992, previously in the Villa Doria-Pamphili (seated, with knot)	Rome?	1,52 m (torso: 1,10 m)	Antonine period	'bigio morato'	Gregarek 1999, C35; Moltesen 2002, 68-71, no. 22
Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. Field no.Sal.st. 13 'Knotted costume –type'	Salamis, Gymnasium	1,19 m	2nd cent. AD	Black-grey marble/ 'nero antico'?	Dikaios 1961, 196-197; Fejfer 2006, 94, fig. 15; Karageorghis 1964, 26-27, no. 17, Plate 23, 3-4

5. STATUES OF THE 'APHRODITE LOUVRE-NAPLES-TYPE' FOUND IN CONTEXTS RELATED TO ISIS AND/OR MAGNA MATER

Location	Provenance	Height	Date	Material	Reference
Naples, MAN, inv. 5997 (the base is still *in situ*)	Herculaneum, 'Palaestra', Sanctuary of Magna Mater and Isis (?)	1,76 m	1st cent. AD (Julio-Claudian)	White marble (Greek)	Gasparini 2010, 238; Pagano 1996, 246-248; Cantilena et al. 1989, 104, no. 42; Brinke 1996, 22, no. R 6.
Rome, Palatine Museum, inv. 607 (previously MNR)	Rome, Palatine, Domus Tiberiana opposite the Temple of Magna Mater	1,29 m	Some scholars consider it a Hellenistic original others as a Roman copy of the 2nd century AD (Hadrian)	Dolomitic Thasian marble	Brinke 1991, 176, G 51; Giuliano et al. 1981, 133-136, no.96.
Ostia, Museo Ostiense, inv. 166, 166a, 166b	Ostia, Attideum, *Campus Matris Magnae* [IV, I, 1]	1,03 m; 0,34 m; 0,38 m	2nd cent. AD	White marble	Rieger 2004, 134-136, 285-286, MM 15-17.
Thessaloniki, Arch. Mus., inv. 831	Thessaloniki, Serapeum	1.70 m (incl. base)	Julio-Claudian	White marble (Greek?)	Brinke 1991, 157-158, G 21.

F. The 'Arco di Camilliano' and the *Sacra Via* Relief

In Late medieval and Renaissance sources, the monumental triple arch, which marked the entrance to the Iseum Campense from the square containing the temple of Minerva Chalcidica to the east (FUR 35m and 35s), is referred to as '*Camilllianum*' and '*arcus* or *palatium Camilli*'. The derivation of this name is uncertain. The 'Arco di Camilliano' is recorded on more 16th-century plans of the area as standing at the eastern entrance to the present Via del Piè di Marmo, which passed under the central archway. However, in order to facilitate the access to the newly inaugurated Piazza (and Palazzo) del Collegio Romano (1584), the street was widened and the arch largely demolished during the papacy of Clement VIII (1592-1605).[888]

In 1969, the northern pier, in rectangular blocks of travertine preserved to a height of 11 m, was recovered during the renovation of the house at the corner of the Via del Piè di Marmo and the Via di Sant' Ignazio. In 1980-1981, E. Gatti rediscovered the remains of two further piers, forming the southern limit of the same, i.e., northern, (lateral) archway.[889] The northern pier is 5 m deep and 2.90 m wide and the width of the archway is 2.40 m. The reconstructed width of the arch is ca. 19.30 m and that of the central archway ca. 5.5 m.[890]

Little is known of the original decoration of the arch. According to the late medieval and Renaissance descriptions, the arch appeared '*[…] satis rudis ubi nulla ornamentorum signa […]*', i.e., crude and undecorated.[891] It has been suggested, however, that part of the decoration consisted of a 'weapon frieze' (greave, shield and helmet) associated with the area of S. Stefano del Cacco and depicted on a number of drawings of the 16th century.[892] It is generally assumed that the arch commemorated the Flavian victory in the Judaean war; yet, the lack of decorations and inscriptions makes the dating uncertain. Nevertheless, the erection of the arch is traditionally attributed to either Vespasian or Domitian.[893]

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[888] For the medieval and early modern sources, incl. the plans of Bufalini (1551), Du Pérac-Lafrery (1577), Brambilla (1590) and Tempesta (1593), see Hülsen 1903, 54-57; Lanciani 1902-1912, *vol. IV*, 29-30, 189-190; Gatti 1943-1944, 124-137 (with incorrect reference and date [1585] of the demolition); Frutaz 1962, tav. 202, 250, 261, 265. The central archway was demolished in 1595 and the southern (lateral) archway during the years 1596-1597. The remains of the arch, consisting of blocks of marble and travertine, were acquired by Cardinal Antonio Maria Salviati (1537-1602) and reused in the reconstruction of the '*casa Salviati*', located behind the church of S. Maria in Via Lata in the piazza known as dell'Olmo '*di fronte all'arco di Camillo*'.

[889] Coarelli 1973, 663; 1982, 64; Laurenti 1985, 400-403; 1996, 110; see also Astolfi 2003, 9-11.

[890] Gatti 1943-1944, 131 and Tav. II; Laurenti 1996, 110.

[891] Quotation from Fulvio, *Antiquitates Urbis* (1527, fol. 50b); moreover Hülsen 1903, 54-55.

[892] Lembke 1994, 147-148, nos. 1-4 (architectural drawings of entablature with 'weapon frieze') and 13 (elevation of the arch), 152-153, nos. 2-3 and 6-7 (the cornice), 156, no. 2 (column) and stylobate and column base, 184-185, no. D 2.

[893] The following scholars favour a Vespasianic date of the arch: Kähler 1939, 400-401, no. 45; Helbig[4] I, 779, no. 1076 (E. Simon); Lembke 1994, 28, 67-69; see also Kleiner 1990, 131-134. Other scholars argue for a Domitianic date of the

The Flavian date of the 'Arco di Camilliano' is further supported by the likely association between the arch and the triumphal 'Arcus ad Isis' represented on the so-called '*Sacra Via*' relief from the tomb of the Haterii, discovered in 1848, on the Via Labicana (the modern Via Casilina).[894] (Fig. 61) Five different buildings are represented on the relief: a triumphal arch labelled '*arcus ad Isis*', an amphitheatre (the Colosseum), a side view of a triumphal arch (or a quadrifrons?), another arch labelled '*arcus in sacra via summa*' (the Arch of Titus?), and a hexastyle temple of Jupiter (variously identified as 'Tonans', 'Custos' or 'Stator').

Figure 61

Traditionally, the relief has been understood 'topographically', i.e., as depicting buildings standing along the route of the funeral cortege of the deceased. According to this reading of the relief, the cortege proceeded from the Temple of Jupiter Stator in the area of the upper Via Sacra (Forum Romanum), through the Arch of Titus (?), via another triumphal arch,[895] the Colosseum and the 'Arcus ad Isis' to the burial precinct of the Haterii on the Via Labicana.[896] Other scholars argue for a 'chronological' reading of the relief, i.e., that the depicted edifices represent Flavian building projects in Rome in which the deceased, Q. Haterius Tychicus, a contractor (*redemptor*), may have participated.[897] Both interpretations are closely related to the identification of the arch labelled 'Arcus ad Isis'.

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arch: Castagnoli 1941, 65-66, 69; De Maria 1988, 292-294, no. 77; Ensoli 1998, 427, n. 54. See also Chapter 7, 'The literary and numismatic evidence' above.

[894] Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano profano, inv. 9997, H. 0.43 m; L. 1.57 m; Helbig^4 I, 778-780, no. 1076; Castagnoli 1941, 65-66, Tav. II; Kleiner 1990, 131-134; Coarelli 1993, 97; Lembke 1994, 68, 178-179, no. C Relief 3; Laurenti 1996, 110; Ensoli 1998, 415, 427, n. 54; *Divus Vespasianus* 2009, 429, no. 24. The relief dates to ca. AD 100.

[895] Coarelli (*Divus Vespasianus* 2009, 429), tentatively identifies this arch as that of Titus on the Velia.

[896] For an overview of this traditional approach, which particularly characterised the scholarship of the 19th century, see Castagnoli 1941, 59-60; the 'topographical' approach has recently been revived, see Kleiner 1990, 131-134; moreover de Vos 1997, 109.

[897] This approach was initially proposed by Kähler 1939, 400-401, no. 45, and is today the most widely accepted; see also Castagnoli 1941, 60-69; Helbig^4 I, 778-780, no. 1076; De Maria 1988, 292-294, no. 77; Lembke 1994, 178-179, no. C Relief 3; Ensoli 1998, 427, n. 54. For Q. Haterius Tychicus, see *CIL* VI, 607 (a dedication to Hercules, now lost).

The 'Arcus ad Isis' has three archways flanked by four three-quarter columns of the Composite order resting on tall plinths. Above the columns runs a frieze of weapons, or according to others, sacrificial instruments.[898] The central panel of the attic carries the inscription 'ARCUS AD ISIS' and the side panels are decorated with two small and one large wreath respectively. The arch is surmounted by a quadriga flanked by two pair of captives bound to palm trees and to the right by a trophy (missing on the left side, where the relief is damaged). In the central archway stands a statue of Minerva with helmet, aegis, spear and shield and above two owls fill the spandrels.[899] A statue of Isis holding a sistrum stands in the right archway and in the spandrels above, two hawks (Nephthys and Isis mourning the dead Osiris) flank a *baetyl*. In the left archway stands a statue of the jackal-headed Anubis (?) and above is a *cista mystica*.[900]

The similarities between the triumphal iconography of the 'Arcus ad Isis', especially the bound captives flanking the palm trees, and the iconography of some of the 'Iudaea capta' coin-types of Vespasian and Titus strongly suggests that the 'Arcus ad Isis' commemorated the conquest of Judaea. Likewise, it has been suggested that the three wreaths on the attic, a large and two smaller ones, refer to Vespasian and his two sons, Titus and Domitian and, according to some scholars, the size of these wreaths suggests that the 'Arcus ad Isis' was erected during the reign of Vespasian, i.e., the large wreath symbolising the current emperor.[901] Yet, where was the 'Arcus ad Isis' located and how should we interpret the statues in the passageways? Obviously, the statues did not physically occupy the three passageways of the arch. They may have been visible through the arch or, perhaps more likely, the statues allude to buildings located near the arch.

According to the traditional, i.e., 'topographical', reading of the Sacra Via relief the 'Arcus ad Isis' represent a Flavian (triumphal) arch on the Via Labicana near the Colosseum. The 'Egyptian' statues in the lateral archways would then allude to the Iseum on the Oppian in Rome's third Region.[902] The location of this sanctuary, which gave its name to the Region, is uncertain. However, it seems likely, as convincingly argued by de Vos, that the Iseum is to be identified with

[898] Castagnoli 1941, 65 (frieze of sacrificial instruments); contra Kleiner 1990, 132 and Lembke 1994, 178, who both describe the frieze as a frieze of arms and armour.
[899] Some scholars identify the statue in the central archway as that of Mars, see Helbig[4] I, 779; De Maria 1988, 292-294, no. 77. The presence of the owls, sacred to Minerva, however, makes the association with Mars unlikely.
[900] De Maria 1988, 293, tentatively identifies the statue in left archway as that of Serapis.
[901] Helbig[4] I, 779 (E. Simon); see also Kleiner 1990, 132-133; Lembke 1994, 68-69, 178. Dio Cass. 65.7.2 describes how the senate bestowed different honours - including the erection of arches - upon Vespasian and Titus in AD 70. Other scholars maintain that the 'Arcus ad Isis' was erected by Domitian; see Castagnoli 1941, 65-66; De Maria 1988, 293; Ensoli 1998, 427, n. 54; Levick 1999, 128. The two smaller wreaths would then allude to the achievements, i.e., the joint triumph, of Vespasian and Titus and the large wreath to those of the reigning emperor, Domitian.
[902] See Castagnoli 1941, 59-60, 65-66, for an overview of previous research; moreover Kleiner 1990, 131-134.

the monumental structures located in the present Via P. Villari/Via A. Poliziano, north-west of the intersection of the Via Merulana by the Via Labicana.[903] In previous research, the statue of Minerva in the central archway was seen as an allusion to the temple of Minerva *Capta* near the foot of the Caelian.[904] More recently, however, it has been suggested that the statue alludes to the temple of Minerva *Medica*. The location of this temple is usually associated with an important votive deposit found in the present Via C. Botta, north of the Via Labicana, i.e., on the border between the third and fifth Regions of Rome.[905] According to this line of argument, even if not supported by literary evidence, the 'Arcus ad Isis' would have been erected and the Iseum on the Oppian redecorated as part of the general Flavian transformation of the Colosseum valley.

If, on the other hand, the Sacra Via relief is approached from a 'chronological' point of view, the 'Arcus ad Isis' is usually identified with the (triumphal) 'Arco di Camilliano', i.e., the main entrance to the Iseum Campense from the east.[906] In this case, the 'Egyptian' statues in the lateral archways would allude to the sculptural decoration of the Iseum, located '*behind*' the arch, and the statue of Minerva to the temple of Minerva Chalcidica, located in the square '*in front of*' the arch. As we have seen above, this 'chronological' line of interpretation is supported, both archaeologically and by the evidence of the FUR (35m and 35s). Moreover, the erection of a triumphal arch within the precinct of the Iseum Campense seems appropriate considering Isis' role as patron goddess of the Flavians as well as the fact that this was where Vespasian and Titus spent the night before the triumph over Judaea in AD 71.[907] Finally, we know from literary sources that the Iseum was destroyed by fire during the reign of Titus in AD 80 and that Domitian subsequently rebuilt it.[908]

Generally, both the 'topographical' and the 'chronological' interpretation of the Sacra Via relief including the identification of the 'Arcus ad Isis' seems plausible. Thus, although most of the archaeological and literary evidence would seem to support the association between the 'Arcus ad Isis' and the 'Arco the Camilliano', i.e., the Iseum Campense, the 'topographical' reading of the relief and the relationship with the Iseum in Regio III cannot be excluded. Perhaps, from a 'Flavian'

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[903] de Vos 1996, 111; 1997, 99-112; see also, most recently, Häuber and Schütz 2010, 82-94; for a critical assessment of the evidence, see Versluys 2002, 338-344.
[904] Castagnoli 1941, 66; Richardson 1992, 255 (Minerva Capta (Minervium))
[905] de Vos 1997, 108-109. The Regionary Catalogues situates the temple of Minerva Medica in the fifth Region, Jordan 1871, 547-548; see also Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, 13-14; Coarelli 1982, 57-58.
[906] Castagnoli 1941, 65-66; De Maria 1988, 292-294, no. 77; Lembke 1994, 184-185; Coarelli 1996, 108; Ensoli 1998, 415, n. 16, 427, n. 54. For a different interpretation, see Roullet 1972, 25, who considers the 'Arcus ad Isis' as the entrance to the sanctuary of Minerva '*[…]* near *the Iseum (*'ad *Isis') […]*'.
[907] Joseph *BJ* 7.123; Lembke 1994, 179; *Divus Vespasianus* 2009, 429, no. 24.
[908] The fire of AD 80 is described by Dio Cass. 66.24.1-3 and Suet. *Tit.* 8.3-4; the Domitianic reconstruction of the Iseum is mentioned by Eutr. 7.23.5; *Chron. min.* 146 M; Jer. *Ab Abr.* 2105 (p. 272-273).

point of view, the important thing was not so much the precise location of the buildings, but instead the iconographic juxtaposition of Isis, Anubis (?) and Minerva and, elsewhere on the relief, of Cybele, Roma (or Virtus?) flanked by Mars and Victoria, and, to the far right, Jupiter. Most of these deities held important positions in Flavian ideology and the visual interaction between this divine line-up, the monumentality of the buildings and their decoration provide the Sacra Via relief with an air of 'triumph' and 'peace' - a triumph celebrated and a peace restored by the Flavian emperors.[909]

[909] For the particular role of Isis, Cybele, Minerva and Jupiter in Flavian ideology, see Scott 1936, 38-39, 91-93; Jones 2002, 99-101; Bricault 2010, 265-284; Gasparini 2010, 229-264; Pfeiffer 2010a, 273-288.

G. Patronesses of war and recovery – the relationship between Isis and Minerva

This appendix provides a brief (non-exhaustive) survey of the literary and epigraphic evidence attesting to the warrior and healing aspects of Isis and Minerva. As patron deities of the *gens Flavia*, these goddesses were valued for their protective and warlike qualities in times of war and for their curative and restorative powers in times of peace. The association between the two goddesses is particularly prominent during the reign of Domitian, who, according to Suetonius, worshipped Minerva with superstitious veneration ('*superstitiose colebat*').[910] Domitian's special devotion to Minerva manifested itself in the construction of temples (e.g., the round temple of Minerva Chalcidica and the temple of Minerva in the Forum Transitorium), in his coinage, and in the celebration of annual games, *Quinquatria*, in honour of Minerva at his Alban villa.[911]

As noted by Bianchi, the syncretistic nature of Isis during the Hellenistic-Roman period generally meant that, '*Isis could represent anything to anyone and could be represented in any way imaginable.*'[912] Thus, we need not be surprised when in the second century AD Isis, among other goddesses, also identifies herself with Minerva in a famous passage of Apuleius' Metamorphoses.[913] Yet already in the fifth century BC, Herodotus identified Athena with the Egyptian goddess of war, Neith, and it seems clear that Neith played an important intermediary role in the gradual juxtaposition of Athena/Minerva and Isis.[914] As such, the Greek historian Plutarch identifies the 'Athena of Sais' with Isis and a similar identification is found in the invocation of Isis recorded in the *P. Oxy.* XI, 1380.[915]

Vespasian and Titus' decision to spent the night before the Judaean triumph in the Iseum Campense and the fact that Domitian's successful return from a military campaign in Dacia led to the consecration of the obelisks and the Iseum at Beneventum makes it likely that the warlike qualities of both goddesses connected them.[916] Yet, as noted above, Isis and Minerva also shared 'peaceful' qualities such as wisdom, medicine and healing. From an ideological point of view, the patronage of these deities as reflected in contemporary coinage, literature, art and architecture confirmed the legitimacy and authority of Flavian rule.

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[910] Suet. *Dom.* 15.3; see also Dio Cass. 67.1.2, 67.16.1 (Domitian's private *sacrarium* with statue of Minerva); Philostr. *V A* 7.24 (Domitian as the son of Athena/Minerva).
[911] Malaise 1972a, 416-417; Darwall-Smith 1996, 115-129; Jones 2002, 99-101; see also Chapters 6 and 7 above.
[912] Bianchi 2007, 494.
[913] Apul. *Met.* 11.5. '*[…] the Athenians, which are sprung from their own soil, [call me] Cecropian Minerva […].*'
[914] Hdt. 2.28.1, 2.59.3; Kolta 1968, 96-104; Malaise 1972a, 416-417.
[915] Plut. *Mor. De Is. et Os.* 354C; *P. Oxy*. XI, 1380, l. 30 and l. 72; Grenfell and Hunt 1915, 190-220.
[916] For the warrior aspect of Athena/Minerva and Isis, see Graf and Ley 1997, cols. 162-163; Philips and Ley 2000, cols. 211-216; Hölbl 1986, col. 931; *P. Oxy.* XI, 1380, l. 71, l. 83 and l. 102; Grenfell and Hunt 1915, 192-193; Torelli 2002, 197-199; Vergineo 2007, 84.

The magic and healing skills of Isis are ancient and play a central role in the Egyptian myth of Isis and Re[917] and the myth of Osiris.[918] During the Hellenistic-Roman period, scholars generally associate the origin of the healing powers of Isis and especially her new consort Serapis with the religious complexes at Saqqara, west of Memphis. This area was famous for its Serapeum and the cult of Imhotep, the founder of medicine.[919] As healing deities Isis and Serapis are often invoked together,[920] however, Isis is also addressed alone with epithets such as *hygieia*, *salutaris* and *restitutrix.*[921] Her role as saviour and benefactor is also emphasised by the author of the *P. Oxy.* XI, 1380, who among other names calls her *σώτειρα*, i.e., 'saviour'.[922]

With regard to Athena/Minerva, the literary and epigraphic evidence associating her with healing virtues is scarce and somewhat scattered.[923] Cicero mentions Minerva along with Asclepius and Serapis in a passage of the *De divinatione* where he mockingly questions the belief in divine cure through the interpretation of dreams.[924] In a description of the medicinal properties of the plant '*perdicium*' or '*parthenium*', Pliny explains that its virtues '*[…] had been disclosed to Pericles by Minerva in a dream. Hence, it is that it was first called 'parthenium', and was consecrated to that goddess.*'[925] Likewise, we learn from Pausanias that in the parish of *Acharnae* in Attica '*[…] they worship Apollo Agyieus and Heracles, and there is an altar of Athena Health.*'[926] Finally, the Regionary Catalogues mention a temple of Minerva *Medica* in the fifth region of Rome, i.e., the *Exquiliae.*[927] The inscription on the grave stele of G. Vergilius Epaphroditus confirms the existence of this temple stating that Vergilius Epaphroditus was a singing teacher (*odariarius*) at the temple of Minerva Medica.[928]

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[917] The myth is known from the New Kingdom "P. Turin 1993" and the "P. Chester Beatty XI", see Helck 1982, col. 682, Chester Beatty XI and col. 734, Turin B.2b; Borghouts 1978, 51-55, no. 84.
[918] Griffiths 1981, col. 623-633. Disjoint allusions to the myth of Osiris are known from the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts. The role of Isis as Osiris' saviour is emphasised in the Hymn of Amenmose of the New Kingdom (Louvre C286) and in the later Graeco-Roman versions of the myth, i.e., especially Plut. *Mor. De Is. et Os.* 355D-359B.
[919] Hölbl 1986, col. 933, n. 92. Whether or not Serapis healed through incubation at Saqqara, which seems to have been the case at Alexandria and Canopus, has, however recently been questioned, see Renberg 2010, 649-662; for Canopus, see Strabo 17.1.17.
[920] Cf. *RICIS* 205/0304.
[921] Cf. *RICIS* 202/0307; *RICIS* 501/0151; *RICIS* 502/0702; *RICIS* 503/1118.
[922] Grenfell and Hunt 1915, 193.
[923] Forsén 1996, 151-153; for Athena as a Mother goddess, mistress of animals and vegetation, see also Demargne 1984, 1018-1019.
[924] Cic. *Div*. 2.59.123.
[925] Plin. *HN* 22.44; see also Plut. *Vit. Per.* 13.7-8 for a slightly different story and *IG* I. 335.
[926] Paus. 1.31.6; Ἀπόλλωνα *Ἀγυιέα*, i.e., 'protector of the streets'; *Ἀθηνᾶς Ὑγείας*, i.e., 'protectress of health'.
[927] Jordan 1871, 547-548; Carlucci 1996, 255-256.
[928] *CIL* VI^2, 10133, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria, inv. 7532. The palaeography dates the inscription to the end of the first / early second century AD; for further epigraphic evidence, see Gatti Lo Guzzo 1978, 16-17.

Little is known about the extent to which healing played a role within the Egyptian sanctuaries of Beneventum and Rome, however, the universal character of Isis makes it likely that her cult in Italy also included this restorative aspect. The evidence from Rome is particularly important, suggesting, as we have seen, that the devotees turned to the Iseum Campense and/or the neighbouring *Divorum* in the expectation of divine help or recovery.[929] Similarly, de Vos has suggested an association between the Iseum of Regio III, restored in the Flavian period, and the temple of Minerva *Medica* on the Esquiline.[930]

[929] Palmer 1993, 355-365; Ensoli 1998, 414-417, 430-431; Luke 2010, 91-99; see also Chapter 7 above.
[930] de Vos 1994, 151-155; 1997, 99-142; see also Appendix F.

H. Priests carrying 'Osiris-Canopus' – issues of style and chronology

This appendix provides a preliminary overview and brief discussion of the iconographic evidence for priests carrying 'Osiris/Isis/Anubis/Apis -Canopus', i.e., divine images in the form of a canopic jar. The two Hadrianic (?) statues of priests carrying an image of Osiris/Isis-Canopus from the Iseum at Beneventum constitute the point of departure for the discussion. (Fig. 62)

Generally, persons – divine or human – carrying different kinds of religious vessels or other items of importance to the cult are a well-known phenomenon in Isiac iconography. However, within this iconographic tradition, representations of persons carrying an image of Osiris/Isis/Anubis/Apis-in-a-jar, whether life-size or miniature figures in the round or depictions in relief, are relatively rare. To my knowledge, the iconographic evidence is restricted to about 19 figures in the round and 12 figures in relief. So far, these images are exclusively known from sites in Egypt and Italy and the contexts, when known, are restricted to funerary contexts and religious sites.[931] (See Table H1 below)

The recently discovered statue found on the submerged Island of Antirhodos in the harbour of Alexandria represents the closest parallel to the Beneventan statues so far.[932] The statue, in dark granodiorite, represents a young man wearing a cloak that covers the upper part of his body including the arms over a long tunica. In his veiled hands, he carries an image of Osiris-in-a-jar. His carefully shaven head identifies him as an Isiac priest. Dunand tentatively dates this statue to the early imperial period, i.e., the end of the first century BC.[933] However, other scholars have suggested a late first or second century AD date.[934] Another close parallel would be the torso of a statue in dark granite clad in a cloak covering the upper part of the body in the Graeco-Roman museum of Alexandria. Yet,

[931] Wild 1981, 119-120. Note that Wild's analysis includes the whole body of iconographic evidence – about 220 examples – for the Osiris-in-a-jar figures, i.e., his analysis is not restricted – as here – to the images of priests carrying Osiris-in-a-jar. For the religious contexts, see Müller 1969, 22; Lembke 1994, 42-48; Kiss 1998, 181; Goddio and Yoyotte 1998, 251; *Iside*, 432, V.53; for the funerary contexts, see Breccia 1930, 58, no. 280; Wild 1981, 123.
[932] National Museum, Alexandria (SCA 449), H. 1.22m, see Dunand 1998, 189-194; 2006, 214-215; 2008, 160-162. Unlike Dunand (1998, 189) and Kiss (1998, 181), I do not believe that the groove engraved in the forehead should be interpreted as a wrinkle. Compared with similar representations of priests, it seems obvious that a tuft of hair, a headband, or a separately attached olive or laurel-wreath (of metal?) encircled his forehead; see Charbonneaux 1966, 407-412 (Br. 4394), figs. 3-6; Malaise 1972, 236-237, pl. 26; Clerc and Leclant 1994, 127-128, no. 86; Lembke 1994, 42-48, 186-188, Taf. 6,1-2.
[933] Dunand 2006, 452, no. 464 (1st century BC); 2008, 358, no. 459. In the 2008 edition of the catalogue the statue is – somewhat more tentatively – dated to the 'Roman period'; ceramics datable between the 1st century BC and the 2nd century AD were found together with the statue, see Goddio and Yoyotte 1998, 249.
[934] See the description of the terracotta figure of a priest carrying a cult image (3147) in the British Museum: http://www.britishmuseum.org; Bailey 2008, IV, no. 3147.

in this case, the object once carried in the veiled hands of the priest – an image of Osiris-in-a-jar? – is not preserved.[935] Müller dates this statue to the first half of the first century AD.[936]

In Rome three columns from the Iseum Campense show relief figures of priests carrying various sacred objects. On each of the columns, three out of a total of eight priests bear in their veiled hands images of Osiris-in-a-jar (five times), Isis-in-a-jar (two times) and Anubis-in-a-jar (two-times).[937] Scholars traditionally date these columns to the reign of Domitian[938] but the epigraphic evidence of a Severan restoration of the Iseum has led some scholars to suggest a date during the joint principate of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (AD 198-208) and other scholars prefer a date sometime during the reign of Severus Alexander (AD 222-235).[939] A final example illustrating the difficulty of dating this – admittedly – very limited corpus of figures carrying images of Osiris-in-a-jar is the bronze statuette of a priest found at Hermonthis, south of Thebes, now in the Louvre.[940] Charbonneaux sees the statuette as a prime example of 'Alexandrian art' and dates it to the second century BC. Yet, in a more recent description of the statuette, it is more tentatively dated to the late first century BC or the first century AD.[941]

So, where does all this lead us? If nothing else, the few examples emphasised above clearly illustrate the difficulties related to the – even approximate – dating of these Romano-Egyptian images. One could argue that with the exception of a few doubtful cases the overall dating of the priestly figures falls within the Roman imperial period. This corresponds well with the prevailing opinion that the iconographic representations of Osiris-in-a-jar are an exclusively Roman phenomenon and that it was in this period that a 'canopic' theology developed. The earliest dated examples of such images occur on Alexandrian coins beginning with the reign of Galba (AD 68-69) and from AD 73, i.e., the fourth year of Vespasian, they become more widespread not ceasing until the reign of Gallienus (AD 253-268).[942]

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[935] Charbonneaux 1966, 414, n. 1, fig. 9.
[936] Müller 1969, 96-97. Note that the reference given here by Müller (Inv. no. 20274) does not concern the torso in granite but another parallel in terracotta also kept in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria. For the statuette in terracotta, see Clerc and Leclant 1994, 127-128, no. 86.
[937] Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 64.
[938] Ensoli Vittozzi 1990, 59; Lembke 1994, 186.
[939] Ensoli 1998, 420-421; for the inscription, see *CIL* VI^4, fasc. II, 31464; moreover, Bongrani 1992, 67-71, cf. the mention of a refurbishment of the Iseum under Severus Alexander, SHA *Alex. Sev.* 26,8; see also Wild 1981, 121.
[940] Louvre, Br. 4165, H. 13.3 cm; the object once carried in the veiled hands of the figure is not preserved; Perdrizet 1911, 48-50, no. 82, pl. 22; Charbonneaux 1966, 407-420, fig. 1-2; *Cleopatra BM*, 115, no. 140. A small figure (now in Baltimore) of the same type as the Louvre statuette was found at the same occasion; see Rubensohn 1906, 139-142, Abb. 10; Perdrizet 1911, 50; Charbonneaux 1966, 412-414, fig. 8.
[941] Charbonneaux 1958, 102-103; *Cleopatra BM*, 115, no. 140.
[942] Müller 1969, 97; Wild 1981, 114-115; Malaise 1986, 64-69; Bianchi 1988, 248-249; Dunand 1998, 194; see also Knauer 1995, 16-35, for a convincing interpretation and identification of the two types of jar-shaped Osiris. According

Naturally, the images of Osiris-in-a-jar did not arise out of nowhere and as noted by Wild the use of this image on Alexandrian coins of the first century AD '*[…] demands a previous history of iconographic development*' most likely leading back to the early first century AD.[943] In the case of the life-size statues and the reliefs in stone representing priests with an image of Osiris-in-a-jar, the geographical distribution is restricted to Alexandria, Beneventum, and Rome. Without further comparison, it is important that these three cities seem to have played a particular role in the advent of the Flavian dynasty. As outlined in Chapter 4 above, Vespasian sojourned almost a year in Alexandria after his proclamation as emperor in AD 69, and later, in AD 70, during his triumphant return to Rome, Vespasian met Domitian at Beneventum.


Figure 62

The cult of Osiris in the form of a human-headed vessel thrived at Canopus, a coastal town east of Alexandria, during the Roman period. The sanctuary of Osiris at Canopus was renowned for its miraculous healings[944] and it is tempting to associate the cult of Osiris-Canopus and the emergence of the 'canopic' representations of Osiris with the '*many wonders*' taking place in and around Vespasian and the great Serapeum at Alexandria in AD 69/70.[945] In any case, as suggested by Bianchi, the whole phenomenon of Osiris/Isis-in-a-jar '*would seem to indicate a highly organised theological administration*' enabling '*some sort of Egyptian synod to communicate directly with members of their confraternity at the Imperial Court in Rome.*'[946] We do not know what role, if any, the Flavians played in these matters. Faced with the delicate issues of their acceptance and right to power, it seems clear, however, that the Flavians initiated a series of extraordinary political-religious actions that, among other things, included a revival of the Isiac cults.[947]

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to Knauer, the 'Type A', decorated with symbols in relief, would represent Osiris, while the 'Type B', decorated with horizontal stripes/part of a cobra skin, would represent Serapis.

[943] Wild 1981, 114-115.

[944] Strabo 17.1.17.

[945] These wonders included an extraordinary rising of the Nile, a vision in the temple of Serapis and Vespasian's miraculous healing of a blind and a lame man; slightly different versions of these stories are found in Tac. *Hist.* 4.81-82; Suet. *Vesp.* 7; Dio Cass. 65.8.1-2 and Philostr. *V A* 5.27.

[946] Bianchi 1988, 249. Nothing suggests that the image of Osiris-in-a-jar originated in or had a special connection to the town of Canopus; see Wild 1981, 102, 236, n. 6.

[947] Adamo Muscettola 1994, 89-92, 99; Bricault 2010, 265-284; for the concept of 'acceptance', see Flaig 2010, 278-280.

TABLE H1: PRELIMINARY OVERVIEW OF THE ICONOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE FOR PRIESTS CARRYING OSIRIS-CANOPUS.

No.	Type of object	Present location	Height	Year of discovery	Provenance	Date
1	STATUE [ST]	Benevento, Museo del Sannio, 1922	1,38 m.	1903	Beneventum	Early 2nd century AD (Hadrian)
2	ST	Benevento, Museo del Sannio, 1926	1,36 m.	1903	Beneventum	Early 2nd century AD (Hadrian)
3	ST	Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, 4309	0,89 m.	Early 20th cent. (?)	Alexandria	First half of the 1st century AD
4	ST	Alexandria, National Museum, SCA 449	1,22 m.	1996/1997	Alexandria (Antirhodos)	End of 1st century BC or late 1st / early 2nd century AD
5	ST (in plaster)	Al Minya, Malawi National Museum (Stolen 2013)	0,64 m.		Tuna el Gabal (necropolis)	Graeco-Roman
6	RELIEF	Rome, Musei Capitolini, n. inv. 2	4,0 m. (column)	1923	Rome	Late 1st century AD or beginning of 3rd century AD
7	RELIEF	Rome, Musei Capitolini, n. inv. 13	4,7 m. (column)	1856	Rome	Late 1st century AD or beginning of 3rd century AD
8	RELIEF	Rome, Musei Capitolini, n. inv. 12	4,7 m. (column)	1883	Rome	Late 1st century AD or beginning of 3rd century AD
9	RELIEF	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale,6044	11,5 cm. (silver cup)	1863 (post)	Grande Palestra, Pompeii	Early 1st century AD
10	RELIEF	Klein-Glienicke (Potsdam), Gartenhof, Wand III K. Inv. Gl. 182.	27,2 x 44,5 cm.	(?)	Rome (?)	3rd century AD
11	TERRACOTTA STATUETTE [TC _ST]	Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, 20273	Same mould as 20274	ca. 1922-1923	Alexandria (Ibrahimieh)	Ptolemaic-Roman
12	TC _ST	Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, 20274	6,5 cm.	ca. 1922-1923	Alexandria (Ibrahimieh)	Ptolemaic-Roman
13	TC _ST	Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, 20275	Same mould as 20274	ca. 1922-1923	Alexandria (Ibrahimieh)	Ptolemaic-Roman
14	TC _ST	Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, 10027	8 cm.		Alexandria (Kom el Shoqafa)	
15	TC _ST	Milan, Castello Sforzesco, Museo Egizio, (?)	(?)		(?)	
16	TC _ST	Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 2600. C.384 (Slg. Herold)	7,1 cm.		Alexandria, necropolis	Late Hellenistic or later
17	TC _ST	Tübingen, Sammlungen des Instituts für Klassische Archäologie im Schloss Hohentübingen, 4880/25 (Slg. Schreiber)	20,8 cm.		Alexandria	Head: Late Hellenistic (?) Body: Later than the head
18	TC _ST	London, British Museum, Terracotta 3147	9,8 cm.		Acquired in the Fayum	Ptolemaic or early Roman, 1st century B.C. /AD
19	TC _ST	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1982.1111	9,7 cm.		Egypt	Ptolemaic-Roman
20	TC _ST	Uppsala, University, Department of Egyptology, (?)	(?)		(?)	

No.	Type of object	Present location	Height	Year of discovery	Provenance	Date
21	TC_ST	Paris, Louvre, E 20805 (avec image d'Apis)	12,1 cm.		Egypt	Roman
22	TC_LAMP	Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 2600. L.564	13,7 cm.		Alexandria.	Late Hellenistic
23	TC_LAMP	Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, (?)	(?)	1925-1931	Alexandria (Hadra, necropolis).	Late 3rd century B.C. (?)
24	GEM	Paris, Cabinet des Médailles AA.Seyrig.99 (Ph M. A.-Br. 2012)	(?)	(?)	(?)	
25	GEM	Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Collection H. Seyrig, 1973.1.525[62]	1,4 cm.	(?)	(?)	End of 2nd / beginning of 1st century B.C.
26	GEM	Athens, Benaki Museum, 104/45 (Striated sardonyx) Collection A. Benakis (1873-1954)	3,0 cm. (incl. eyelet)	(?)	Alexandria.	Segall: 2nd-3rd century AD; Zwierlein-Diehl: 1st century B.C.
27	GEM	Ann Arbor, Kelsey Museum, 26046 (lapis lazuli)	1,7 cm.	(?)	(?)	(?)
28	GEM	Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 27271	(?)	(?)	(?)	(?)
29	BRONZE STATUETTE [BR_ST]	Paris, Louvre, Br. 4165	13,3 cm.	ca. 1905	Hermonthis (Theban area)	2nd century B.C. or late first century B.C. / early first century AD
30	BR_ST	Paris, Louvre, Br. 4394	9,8 cm.	?	Unknown	2nd century B.C.
31	BR_ST	Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 54.709	12,1 cm.	ca. 1905	Hermonthis (Theban area)	Hellenistic

Bibliography

Abbreviations of periodicals, series, and books generally follow the guidelines given by the American Journal of Archaeology: http://www.ajaonline.org/pdfs/AJAInstructions.pdf

References to classical literature follow the list of abbreviations given in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 3rd ed. Oxford 1996.

Additional abbreviations

Antiquités Égyptiennes I-II = Boreux, C. 1932. *Musée du Louvre, Antiquités Égyptiennes I-II*. Paris: Musées nationaux.

ASMOSIA = Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones In Antiquity.

CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 1863 ff.

Cleopatra Roma = Walker, S. and P. Higgs, eds. 2000. *Cleopatra, Regina d'Egitto, Roma, Fondazione Memmo 12 ottobre 2000-25 febbraio 2001*. Milano: Electa.

Cleopatra BM = Walker, S. and P. Higgs, eds. 2001. *Cleopatra of Egypt. From History to Myth, London, British Museum 12 April - 26 August 2001*. London: The British Museum Press.

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English summary

This thesis examines *how* and *why* the Flavian emperors, Vespasian (AD 69-79), Titus (AD 79-81) and Domitian (AD 81-96), used and appropriated 'Egypt' as part of a continuous ideological quest for legitimacy and acceptance. In order to understand *how* 'Egypt' manifests itself in Flavian ideology and material culture, the thesis re-examines the sculptural layouts of two Flavian sanctuaries dedicated to the Egyptian goddess Isis located at Beneventum and Rome respectively. By adopting a 'Graeco-Roman' approach, emphasising the role of the Graeco-Roman sculptures as well as the 'dialogue' between the 'Egyptian' and 'Graeco-Roman' aspects of the sculptural layouts, the thesis challenges the traditional view of the *Isea* as exclusively 'Egyptian' and argues instead for an alternative understanding of the sculptural decoration and ideological importance of the two sanctuaries.

In order to understand the possible reasons *why* the Flavians used 'Egypt' as an integral part of their ideology, the thesis adopts a dialectical 'macro' and 'micro' perspective, reflecting contemporary political issues of 'continuity' (with the Julio-Claudian dynasty) and 'change' (legitimising the new Flavian dynasty). Thus, instead of seeing the Flavian sanctuaries and the Egyptian and egyptianising sculptures as something 'exotic' and 'apart', the thesis argues for a 'contextual approach', in which 'Egypt' formed part of a broader political-ideological discourse of legitimacy and acceptance. This discourse was closely linked, in particular, to a series of miraculous events taking place at Alexandria in AD 69-70 after Vespasian's proclamation as emperor as well as to the Flavian triumph over Judaea in AD 71.

Chapter 1 outlines the main aims of the thesis and discusses the main methodological problems related to the study of 'Egypt' in 'Roman' contexts and the use of Egyptian art in Roman imperial ideology. Chapter 2 is concerned with previous scholarship and explores how the emergence of Egyptology indirectly led to an 'academic separation' of the study of Egyptian and Graeco-Roman art. Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical framework of the thesis, informed, in particular, by the notions of 'acculturation', 'objects biographies' and 'materiality'. Chapter 4 provides a historical overview of the relationship between Egypt and Rome during the Augustan and Flavian periods and stresses the changing imperial attitudes towards Egypt in this period. Chapter 5 provides an exhaustive survey of the different materials used in the two sanctuaries, while Chapters 6 and 7 re-examine the sculptural layouts of the *Isea* of Beneventum and Rome respectively. These chapters (5-7) challenge the traditional 'Egyptian' approach to and re-constructions of the sanctuaries and argue that 'Graeco-Roman' aspects too played a role in the material make-up as well as in the sculptural and ideological layout of the two sanctuaries. Chapter 8 concludes and discusses the results and interpretations of the thesis.

Dansk resumé

Denne afhandling undersøger, *hvordan* og *hvorfor* de flaviske kejsere, Vespasian (69-79 e.Kr.), Titus (79-81 e.Kr.) og Domitian (81-96 e.Kr.), brugte 'Ægypten' og ægyptisk kunst som et led i en ideologisk forankret legitimering af deres magtposition. For at forstå *hvordan* brugen af 'Ægypten' kommer til udtryk i flavisk ideologi, analyserer afhandlingen den skulpturelle udsmykning af to flaviske helligdomme dedikeret til den ægyptiske gudinde Isis beliggende i henholdsvis Benevent og Rom. Afhandlingen fokuserer især på de 'græsk-romerske' skulpturer og på 'dialogen' mellem de ægyptiske og græsk-romerske elementer i udsmykningen. Denne tilgang udfordrer den traditionelle opfattelse af helligdommenes eksklusive ægyptiske udseende og understreger helligdommenes ideologiske betydning for de flaviske kejsere, især Domitian.

Afhandlingen argumenterer for at årsagerne til, *hvorfor* Flavierne bruger 'Ægypten' som en del af deres ideologi afspejler samtidige politisk-ideologiske problemstillinger, hvor Flavierne balancerede mellem forestillingen om 'kontinuitet' (med det Julisk-Claudiske dynasti, især Augustus og hans brug af obelisker) på den ene side, og den reelle politisk-ideologiske 'forandring' på den anden side (dvs. legitimeringen af det nye dynasti). Frem for at opfatte de ægyptiske helligdomme og deres ægyptiske udsmykning som noget 'eksotisk' og 'særskilt', argumenterer afhandlingen for en 'kontekstuel tilgang', hvor brugen af 'Ægypten' udgør et led i en større flavisk diskurs om legitimitet og accept. Afhandlingen viser, at Flaviernes brug af 'Ægypten' var tæt knyttet til en række mirakuløse begivenheder, som fandt sted under Vespasians ophold i Alexandria i 69-70 e.Kr. samt til den flaviske triumf over Judæa i 71 e.Kr.

Kapitel 1 skitserer afhandlingens formål og diskuterer nogle af de metodiske problemstillinger, som er forbundet med studiet af 'Ægypten' i 'Rom'. Kapitel 2 giver et kort resumé af tidligere forskning og undersøger, hvordan grundlæggelsen af ægyptologien indirekte førte til en 'akademisk adskillelse' af studiet af ægyptisk og græsk-romersk kunst. Kapitel 3 skitserer afhandlingens teoretiske udgangspunkt med særligt fokus på begreberne 'akkulturation', 'genstandsbiografier' og 'materialitet'. Kapitel 4 indeholder en historisk oversigt over forholdet mellem Ægypten og Rom i den augustæiske og flaviske periode og viser, hvordan den ideologiske brug af Ægypten gradvist forandrede sig i denne periode. Kapitel 5 giver et overblik over og diskuterer de forskellige materialer, der er blevet anvendt i de to helligdomme, mens Kapitel 6 og 7 analyserer helligdommenes skulpturelle udsmykning. Disse tre kapitler (5-7) udfordrer den traditionelle 'Ægyptiske' forståelse af helligdommene og argumenterer for at 'græsk-romerske' aspekter spillede en væsentlig rolle i den materielle, skulpturelle og ideologiske 'udsmykning' af de to helligdomme. Endelig konkluderer og diskuterer Kapitel 8 afhandlingens resultater og fortolkninger.